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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Extract of the Report from the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, May 27, 1840.

Two things are specially necessary to the steady advancement of our enterprise. They are the free circulation of Anti-Slavery periodicals, and a regular system of proselytism or aggression. All moral excitements must have food and exercise. If you withdraw their appropriate stimuli, or divorce them from correspondent action, they will die away, leaving nothing but a corpse-like *sentiment*. If you cease to think, or which is the same thing, to read upon any subject, you will cease to feel; or if you quit acting, you will cease to feel. Not long since an Abolitionist requested his paper discontinued, because, said he, "I am now thoroughly Anti-Slavery." You would not think that Democrat or Whig a very efficient party-man, who should discontinue his party-paper, right in the very midst of the political conflict, on the ground that he was strong enough in his faith. He would be accounted a strange professor, who should sell his Bible, because he was so entirely christianized, that he could do without it.

Why should an Abolitionist make it a principal duty to support Anti-Slavery papers? Because they are necessary to the reformation of the public mind; because, without them, the importance of Anti-Slavery truth will fade away in his own mind, and the fires of liberty burn low in his own heart; and because, without them, he cannot know how to move in harmony with the great Abolition host against Slavery. For the sake of reforming others, for the sake of his own integrity, and that he may be enabled to make his efforts against Slavery efficient, by uniting them with those of others, he is bound, to support Anti-Slavery papers. He ceases to take an Abolition paper, because he is an Abolitionist; will another take it because he is an Anti-Abolitionist? Can Abolitionism be carried forward without the aid of the press? And will the Abolitionist, who knows that unless it be sustained, the public mind cannot be reformed, and that without his support, it cannot be sustained, coolly withdraw his subscription because he is Anti-Slavery enough already.

But, he must take it for his own sake as well as that of others. Congress may strike down constitutional rights; slaveholders may commit fresh outrages on the rights of the free States; lynch-law may invent new modes of violence on our fellow-citizens; but the man who never reads an Anti-Slavery paper knows nothing, and cares nothing for these things. Indignation, and shame, and sympathy, and abhorrence, and patriotism, and a sense of duty, and the instinct of self-preservation—these are the forces which are incessantly brought to bear upon the mind of a reading Abolitionist, impelling him to efficient action. The Abolitionist who never reads—at what should he feel indignant? With whom should he sympathize? What is there to awaken his shame, or abhorrence, or sense of duty, or selfishness? Besides—how is he to guard against the wiles of Slavery; or unite with others in wise and concerted movements against it?

Next in importance to the free circulation of Abolition periodicals, is the establishment of a regular system of proselytism. Some seem to imagine, that when they have become Abolitionists, it is enough—their work is ended. A most pernicious mistake! What is the fig-tree worth, if it produce no fruit? There is a blight upon it, and it but cumbers the ground. The moment a convert is made to Abolition, he should begin to work; the moment a Society is formed, it should strike out a system of action. A principle, not acted on, will as certainly waste away as an arm unused. Every Abolitionist should be a propagandist; the object of every Society should be to imbue the community in which it is formed with right sentiments. For this purpose, regular or quarterly meetings should be appointed; monthly concerts of prayer for the oppressed established; and a subscription paper should be statedly circulated to raise money, for the support of lecturers, and the purchase of Anti-Slavery publications, with a view to loaning them, or gratuitously distributing them in the community. In this way alone can an Anti-Slavery Society live. It must die, and it ought to die, if it will do nothing.

A year ago, a fearful apathy was settling down upon the minds of the Abolitionists of Ohio. Various Anti-Slavery Societies had a name to live, while they were dead. (Indeed, to a limited extent, this is the case now.) The reasons were obvious. Persecution having died away, the reaction occasioned by it subsided. The first impulses of the cause had ceased to act. Nothing but reading, and thereby gaining a view of the enterprise on a great scale, and nothing but systematic aggression, could supply the place of early enthusiasm, and the excitement engendered by persecution. It was owing to a want of the two things we have noticed, that so many Societies fell into a languishing condition. About a year since, while receiving returns from Anti-Slavery Societies, we were struck with the vast disproportion between the numbers in membership, and the number of Abolition papers circulated among them. In a Society, for example, of 132 members, only 3 Philanthropists were taken. The likelihood is, that more than 100 of these Abolitionists were in the habit of never reading any Anti-Slavery paper. In another, of 139 members, but one Philanthropist was taken. In nine Societies, numbering 810 members, the whole number of Philanthropists amounted to but 16; and scarcely any other Abolition periodicals were subscribed for. We put it to the good sense of this meeting—how can Abolition be maintained in such Societies? By the labor of our lecturers in most parts of the State, Abolitionists have been again awakened. There is an Abolition revival among us. But impulse cannot supply the place of principle. Lecturers are listened to, and will be forgotten, unless their impressions be perpetuated by the reading of Anti-Slavery publications. And extraordinary meetings will in the end prove fruitless, unless followed up by a steady, well-directed plan of proselytism.

In this connection it should be said, that these agencies are but preliminary. The great object is, to reform public sentiment. But what then! A reformed public sentiment is itself a preliminary—a preliminary to public action through the ballot-box.

The subject of political action in regard to slavery is now an engrossing theme with Abolitionists. In the infancy of our enterprise, it attracted little attention. And yet, the political responsibilities of the free States then, in relation to slavery, were as weighty as they are now. But we were too feeble to accomplish any thing through the ballot-box, and our energies were wisely directed into channels where they would prove more productive. As we became numerous, the practicability of operating in a political way, imposed on us a corresponding duty. At first our attempts were very limited, having respect to our ability. It was resolved that it was a matter of deep regret, that the citizens of the free States should aid in the election of men to office, who would trample under foot the great principles of civil liberty. A simple resolution of this tenor, and nothing more, constituted all that the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society attempted on the subject at its anniversary four years ago. A little subsequently to this, the plan of questioning candidates began to be agitated, and was practiced in a few places. The requirements of Abolitionists gradually multiplied. Now, they demanded that candidates should express themselves in favor of the right of petition; next, that they should avow their opinions on the constitutional right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; then concerning the duty of this body to abolish it; then, in regard to the power of Congress over the domestic slave-trade; and at length, on all the topics, respecting which it is now the custom in some places to question them. It was a practice which gradualllly grew up, and prevailed, without plan, without any widely concerted agreement, controlled by no defined principles, and was left to the discretion of Abolitionists throughout the country, to be regulated by them in view of localities and circumstances. As might be expected, results were various, but too often unsatisfactory. Sometimes candidates refused to answer. Sometimes answers partially favorable were returned. Sometimes candidates were not brought out till it was too late to interrogate them. In such cases, Abolitionists having agreed beforehand on no plan to be adopted in view of such results, there was no concordant, effective action. Some would vote according to their party preferences; others would not vote at all; the influence of the whole body was not felt.

About one year since, many of the best friends of the cause became discouraged. They had seen, as they thought, so little good result from the ordinary mode of political action, that they concluded some change was necessary.

A Convention was called to meet at Albany. It met in July. What should constitute the standard of Abolition-demand, was the main question discussed. The result is known. Without any reference to places where our enterprise was yet in its infancy, in a state similar to that of the entire cause a few years ago, when Abolitionists scarcely thought of political action, or if they did, limited their requirements to one or two points—they adopted a resolution declaring that they would not give their suffrages to any candidates for the chief executive and legislative offices in the nation, unless they were in favor of immediate abolition. The other question discussed was, the propriety of a separate political organization. It was debated at some length in the Convention, and then disposed of by referring it to the discretion of the local societies. Whether so designed or not, the resolution with regard to the proper standard of abolition demand, prepared the way for the abandonment of the common mode of political action, and for the formation of an abolition political party.

The Convention adjourned. In a few months the Rochester Freeman raised the standard of such a party. The arguments of Mr. Holley were republished in the Emancipator, and endorsed by its editor. The editor of the Massachusetts Abolitionist, Elizur Wright, concurred. Then followed Alvan Stewart, and next Mr. Gerrit Smith, the last with fear and trembling. John G. Whittier gave his sanction to the movement, and Mr. Birney, it is well known, has been a decided supporter of it since the Cleveland Convention. Meantime the measure has been discussed in our papers; advocated in the Emancipator, Friend of Man, and Massachusetts Abolitionist; opposed in the Liberator, Philanthropist, Herald of Freedom, Voice of Freedom, Michigan Freeman, Charter Oak, Union Herald, &c, The Pennsylvania Freeman, under its new editor, is adverse to it; the Christian Witness remains neutral, and the Maine Advocate of Freedom is undecided. It has found very little favor with the great body of Abolitionists. The societies in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, Western Pennsylvania, and the friends generally in Illinois and Indiana have condemned it.

Notwithstanding this diversity of opinion, the advocates of the measure resolved on calling a Convention of Abolitionists on the first of April, to discuss the propriety of separate nominations for the Presidency. The Convention consisted of 121 persons, 104 of them from New-York State. Five other States were scantily represented. By a vote of 44 to 33 the Convention resolved to make a separate nomination, and James G. Birney and Thomas Earle were selected as the candidates.

The effects of this new movement on the Anti-Slavery cause in many respects have appeared unfavorable. In the East great division of sentiment prevails with regard to it; and the discussions to which it has given birth are conducted in a spirit not the most favorable to cordial co-operation or a unanimous decision. The excessive zeal of some, it is to be feared, has cooled the ardor of others who have hitherto been devoted friends of our cause. In our own State, these effects are also beginning to be seen.

Refraining from any attempt at argument on the subject, which would bring up the question prematurely before the Convention, the Committee would remark, that, while the new course of political action proposed for adoption, is *untried*, the old course has in many places been productive of the happiest effects. In Massachusetts the results have been decisive, so far as the legislature is concerned. This year, notwithstanding the intestine broils among the Abolitionists of that Commonwealth, the Legislature has gone further than at any former period, since the era of Abolition, in behalf of human rights. It not only has passed resolutions, solemnly protesting against the gag-rule of Congress, and demanding its immediate repeal; affirming the right of any portion of the people to petition Congress for redress of grievances or what to them may seem such, and the duty of Congress to receive them, and respectfully consider them; denouncing the mode of treating Abolition petitions by the Senate, as a virtual denial of the right of petition, and no less despotic, in effect, than the unconstitutional rule adopted by the House; and finally, declaring that whatever institution or system cannot bear the light of investigation, is manifestly corrupt and dangerous, and ought not to be allowed to exist on a free soil. It not only has passed these stern resolutions by a vote of 396 to 11. It not only has adopted resolutions in regard to the rights of colored citizens of Massachusetts in slave-states. But it has gone further, and fully responded to the prayers of Abolitionists, in regard to Slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, &c., as will be seen by the following resolutions, which are too good to be abridged.

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty. Resolves relating to Slavery and the Slave Trade, and the admission of new States into the Union.

Whereas, domestic Slavery exists in the District of Columbia, under the express authority of Congress, which at the time of the cession of the District, re-enacted the Slave Codes of Maryland and Virginia; and whereas, the sanction thus given to Slavery, and its continued toleration at the seat of Government, form a manifest violation by this nation of the first principles of justice, and have a tendency to corrupt the moral sense, and to lower the character of the whole people of the United States; and whereas, this nation can have no higher interest, either before God or in the eyes of men, than the establishing of justice, and strengthening the just foundations of national honor; and whereas, Slavery in the District of Columbia, being thus a national concern, and involving national responsibility, it is the right of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to remonstrate against the common crime and the degradation of national character; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress ought to exercise its acknowledged power, in the immediate suppression of Slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

And whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the several States of the Union, in the exercise of which power, Congress in the year 1808, abolished the foreign slave trade; and whereas, a domestic slave-trade, as unjustifiable in principle as the African slave trade, and scarcely less cruel and inhuman in practice, is now carried on between the several States; therefore,

Resolved, That the domestic slave trade ought to be abolished by Congress, without delay.

Resolved, That no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, whose Constitution shall tolerate domestic Slavery.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their utmost efforts to give effect to the foregoing resolves.

Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to each of the Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts in Congress, and to the Governors of the several States, to be by them laid before their respective Legislatures."

But one thing more remains to be done—and that is, the repeal of the law relating to inter-marriages, the last vestige of the slave-code. The measure was attempted this year, and failed only by a very small vote. Another year it will be carried.

All this has been accomplished in a state where the power of Abolitionists is lessened by internal dissensions, under a system of political action, which has been pronounced a total failure!

The Anti-Slavery action of the New-York Assembly is also much in advance of any thing that has been done by it in former years. That Assembly, self-moved, by a vote of 85 to 10 in the House, and 20 to 4 in the Senate, adopted resolutions protesting against the gag-rule of Congress as an open and direct infringement of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, and censuring the conduct of that part of the New-York delegation in Congress, that voted for it. Subsequently, the Assembly chamber was granted to the New-York Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of hearing an Abolition lecture from Mr. Alvan Stewart. Next, it rejected a resolution disapproving of the movements of Abolitionists. And finally, it has passed a most admirable bill, securing to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, the full benefits of a jury trial,

All these acts are the fruits of Abolition sentiment, brought to bear upon the Legislature, by means of that very mode of political action, whose total failure is alleged as a sufficient reason, for the formation of a separate Abolition party.

There are three reasons why this mode of political action has been followed by no equally decisive results in Ohio. 1st, Abolitionists in this State are fewer relatively than in Massachusetts, and fewer absolutely than in New-York. 2nd, They have not equalled their brethren in these two States in systematic and faithful efforts to bring their principles to bear on the polls. 3d, For two years past, the majority in the General Assembly of this State has belonged to that party, whose uniform policy it is to conciliate the South, by extreme measures against Abolitionism. Let us not be misunderstood. We simply state facts. That the policy of the opposition party, should it gain the ascendency, would not be the same in this respect, we do not say. Our only object now is, to point out the reasons why the common mode of Anti-Slavery political action has hitherto effected so little in this State.

It is generally agreed, that it is our right and duty to exercise the right of suffrage in such a way as to stamp our principles on the legislation of the country. The great question is, which is the most effectual way of reaching this object. This question cannot safely be settled hastily. The large majority of Abolitionists still adheres to the customary mode of political action. A minority, distinguished for zeal, and honesty, and talent, repudiates this mode, and would establish an Abolition political party. The question between them, it is generally admitted, is a question of expediency. Such being the case, it is evident, that the discussion should be conducted in a fraternal spirit, under a deep sense of the importance of maintaining union, without stubbornness on one part, or dogmatism on the other; and that no new, general measure should be rashly attempted, so long as there is hope of uniting the whole body of Abolitionists in some conclusive course of action. One thing is certain, however we may distract ourselves and weaken our influence by dissensions, the slaveholders know too well the value of union, not to unite as one man in supporting Slavery. Minor differences of opinion they may entertain, but when Slavery is in danger, they array in its defence an unbroken phalanx. Their continued encroachments should admonish the friends of liberty, that this is no time to fall out by the way.

Slavery is an abuse; and, inasmuch as an abuse, by its very nature is doomed to destruction, it naturally strives to avoid its fate by bringing the entire power of the government to protect it. It meddles with every question, seeks to control every interest, declares war against every system or principle based on truth, trembles at any action independent of its influence, and boldly announces itself as the corner-stone of our political institutions. "Whenever," says a profound French philosopher, "there is an abuse in the social order, it appears to be the foundation of it, because, being heterogeneous and solitary in its nature, it is necessary for its preservation, that every thing should yield to it, that it should be the centre of every thing, and hence that every thing should rest upon it." This explains why it is, that every department of our national government is under the control of Slavery—that the constitution and laws of the country; the Chief Executive, Congress and the Judiciary; State sovereignty and individual rights; the politics, the literature and the religion of the nation, have all been compelled to yield more or less to the power of Slavery. The only safety of this enormous abuse is to be found in, universal supremacy. Hence, the process of pro-slavery purification to which our school, and general literature has been subjected; the abject subservience of political parties, especially at the present time, one party, by brawling abuse of Abolionists, the other by sneaking apologies, if caught in the act of maintaining a liberal principle or measure, endeavoring to conciliate the favor of the slaveholder: hence the corruption of the church, and the criminal reluctance of its ministry to rebuke the sin of oppression; the abrogation of the right of petition by the present Congress, its disrespect to sovereign states in refusing to receive the resolves of their legislatures, and many other circumstances, which it is needless to name.

The spirit of domination, growing out of this enormous abuse is especially manifest in the construction put upon the present gag law of Congress.

The rule of the House of Representatives which declares that no petition, memorial, resolution or other paper, praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, or any state or territory, or the slave-trade between the states or territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be received by the House, or entertained in any way, has been construed by the slaveholding Speaker, so as to exclude,

1st. Petitions for the Abolition of the slave-trade within the District of Columbia.

2d. Petitions against the foreign slave-trade.

3d. Petitions in regard to the protection of free people of color in the District, against the legal presumption of their being slaves.

4th. Memorials against the admission of Florida into the Union as a slave-state.

And that there may be no record of the infamous despotism of this Congress, the Speaker has decided,

1st. That under the same rule, there should be no entry on the journal of the fact that such petitions were presented; and

2d. That it is not in order for members who present them to move for such an entry.

Never was there a completer, more rigid, and more detestable system of tyranny than that, under which the people of the United States have been deprived of the right of petition.

While slavery thus forbids Congress to entertain even a petition against it, it hesitates not to demand additional favors at the hand of the general government. On the 10th of February three resolutions were introduced into the House by slaveholders, each one contemplating specific action in behalf of slavery. One was in relation to the Enterprise, and slaves on board of her liberated by the authorities of Bermuda, in consequence of her having been driven into that port by stress of weather. Another related to slaves captured by the Creek Indians, and the expediency of compensating the owners out of appropriations made by Congress. The last contemplated the opening of negotiations with Great Britain for the reclamation of fugitive slaves. Not the slightest objection was made to entertaining these resolutions, but they were received and respectfully treated, as being proper subjects of congressional action. Had the resolution of the Legislature of the sovereign State of Massachusetts, protesting against the admission of any new slave-state into the Union been presented, she would have been insulted at once by a direct refusal on the part of the House to receive it, or in any way entertain it!

March 11th, Mr. Lumpkins presented in the Senate, resolutions of the Georgia Legislature, asking Congress so to amend the laws relating to fugitive slaves, as to authorize the demand for such fugitives to be made upon a Federal Judge in the State where they may have taken refuge, and making it the duty of such Judge, on the demand being properly made, to deliver them up. The amendment asked for, if granted, would have deprived the free States of one of the most essential attributes of sovereignty—that of protecting their own citizens. Arrogant and menacing speeches were made by the slaveholders; and, on their demand that the resolution should be printed, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, the motion was sustained without opposition.

On the 4th of March Mr. Calhoun introduced into the Senate resolutions impugning the justice of British laws, which make free every slave the moment his foot touches British soil, no matter how he may have reached there.—They also affirmed the right of our government to reclaim slaves who may be shipwrecked on British shores, or driven by stress of weather into British ports. The tendency of the resolutions evidently was to bring this nation into collision with Great Britain on the subject of slavery. Mr. Calhoun was permitted, subsequently, to advocate his resolutions at length. They were respectfully considered, and unanimously passed, all the whig Senators from the northern States, except Mr. Dixon, of Rhode-Island, absenting themselves. The right of the American slave-trader to carry on the domestic slave-trade, was hereby substantially affirmed by the Senate; and their readiness to plunge into a war with Great Britain, at least so far as such resolutions go, was clearly manifested.

Now, how does a sovereign State fare in a more important matter than the loss of a few slaves on a foreign soil; in a matter more vital, than the mode in which the delivery of an occasional runaway slave is to be regulated? One of the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts had regard to the protection of colored citizens of that State against certain laws of other States, which imprison them, and reduce them to slavery, if they happen to be within their limits. A breach of the Constitution, a flagrant violation of the rights of Massachusetts are these laws. Certainly she is as much entitled to be heard, speaking through her Legislature, in behalf of her citizens, as Mr. Calhoun, vindicating the rights of a few slave-traders, or Georgia, demanding federal legislation in favor of slavery. What are the facts!

Monday, April 13th, 1840.

"Mr. Adams having presented certain resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts in relation to laws passed by other States, which lead to the imprisonment of citizens of Massachusetts within their bounds, moved their reference to a select committee.

Mr. Andrews, of Kentucky, moved that they lie on the table.

On this motion, Mr. Calhoun, of Massachusetts, demanded the yeas and nays; which being taken, resulted as follows: yeas 102, nays 49.

So the resolutions were laid on the table.

The same disposition was made of another resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature, declaring the rule adopted by the House of Representatives excluding Abolition petitions, to be in violation of the Constitution:—yeas 105, nays 44."

It is needless to comment on these facts; or to record a multitude of similar outrages. Enough has been advanced to show, that this nation is reduced to a condition of the most degradng vassalage to the slaveholder; that there is but one way peacefully to deliver it, and that is, by well-directed political action—by electing men to office, who will know how, and dare, not only to resist slavery, but to bring the whole force of a rectified public sentiment to bear upon it in all constitutional ways, so as finally to destroy it forever. And surely the evil with which we contend is not so feeble, as to embolden us to waste our energies in conflict with each other, or weaken them by divisions.

Abolitionists have arrived at a dangerous crisis. The administration party, in the West particularly, has racked its ingenuity to discover new modes of manifesting its subserviency to the South, and hatred of Abolition. The last Legislature of Ohio outstripped its predecessors in this disgraceful policy. Every thing which envenomed malice could suggest and a limited capacity compass, was done, to convince Abolitionists that they had no longer any thing to hope from the democratic party. The danger now is, that under the influence of hasty resentment, or a vague expectation of benefit from a political revolution, they may be tempted to compromise their principles in the approaching contest between the parties.

Their duty is clear. It is, to stand independent of parties; to allow themselves to be deluded by vague promises from neither; to maintain their principles at all hazards; to give their support to no candidate for office unless they have conclusive evidence, that he is in favor of reforming the State in regard to slavery. What is the use of a change of power if there be none of principle? A pro-slavery whig is as bad as a pro-slavery democrat. To put down one dishonest man by elevating another, is benefitting nobody. Servility is servility, anti-abolition is anti-abolition, by whomsoever practised. It is not our vocation to avenge our own wrongs; to strive against a party that has abused us, by way of retaliation. Then indeed we might form any alliance however incongruous. The work of Abolitionists is, to establish the principles of civil liberty, and procure the repeal of all laws which in any way violate the rights of the colored man, or contribute to perpetuate the wrongs of the slave. No matter how much indignity may be offered to them by one party, so long as the other refuses to give them sufficient ground for believing that it will not do like wise. To support the whig party for the sake of retaliating our injuries on the democratic party, would be irrational and mean; and at the same time, bring our cause into contempt, and our own reputation into disrepute. We must steadily and inflexibly demand submission from both parties to our principles. Nothing can be more reasonable. What are our principles? Are they any thing more or less than what we find recorded in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of Ohio?

Whatever changes take place, Abolitionism must not suffer; too many important interests are involved in it. No true Anti-Slavery man, whether whig or democrat, will ever consent to regard the question of slavery as a minor consideration.

Extracts of the Report of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, May 20th, 1840.

AFRICANS OF THE AMISTAD.

The case of the unfortunate Africans of the Amistad engaged the attention of your Committee as soon as information was received of their having been brought into one of our ports. Prompt measures were taken to render their situation as comfortable as the circumstances of the case would allow, by assuring them that, though in a land of strangers speaking an unknown tongue, they were surrounded by friends who sympathised with them in their afflictions, and who were ready to do what might be done to effect their speedy liberation, and also by securing to them treatment due to MEN, created in the image of God, and entitled to the same privileges with persons of a more favorable birth. In these efforts, much valuable assistance was rendered by a few benevolent individuals in New Haven. By the energetic measures of the Committee on their behalf at New-York, able legal counsel was early engaged for them, whose unwearied exertions to procure their liberty, at the several courts before which their case has been brought, deserve the sincere thanks and the approbation of the friends of freedom. Your Committee, soon after the decision of their case in September, appointed a committee of three to provide suitable instruction for them while held in confinement in our prisons. This has been furnished, and, by frequent opportunities, they have acquired some knowledge of the English language, and of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion.

A document, giving the whole correspondence with the departments of our government in reference to their case, has recently been published by order of Congress, at the suggestion of the Hon. John Quincy Adams. The edition at Washington having been disposed of while many were wishing to obtain it, another edition was published at New-York last week, which we hope will be extensively circulated, as it reveals transactions of our government which should alarm all who value our free institutions and desire their perpetuation.

POLITICAL ACTION.

Upon this subject, lately so distracting, the sentiments and practice of the Abolitionists of this State have undergone little or no change in the last two years. The Convention which was assembled at Hartford, 28th Feb. 1838, held the following language:

"That we consider it the duty of all our fellow citizens in this State, who would establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, to support for office such persons, and such *only*, as are in favor of doing justice to the oppressed, and granting freedom to the enslaved."

At the first Anniversary meeting of the Society, held at New Haven, on the 16th of May, 1838, the following resolution was adopted, viz:

"Resolved, That we consider it the duty of all our fellow citizens, and especially of Abolitionists in this State, to ascertain, if possible, the opinions of candidates for offices, upon the subject of Slavery, and to give their suffrages to such persons, and such *only*, as have previously given good evidence that they will promote the great principles of *human liberty*, as applicable alike to the colored man and the white."

At the State Convention, held at Middletown, December 5th and 6th, 1838, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That as Abolitionists, in giving our votes for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Senators and Representatives in our State Legislature, and for Representatives in the Congress of the United States, we will give them, irrespective of party, to those men of good moral character, and those only, who will sustain the principles of impartial freedom.

"Resolved, That the time has arrived, in which it is our duty to let all men know, that we will not, on any consideration, give our votes for a man to be the next President or Vice President of the United States, who is a slaveholder, or an apologist for slavery."

At the Second Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Hartford, May 15th, 1839, the following resolution was passed, viz:

"Resolved, That to *vote* for slavery is as indefensible as to talk, or write, or pray for it."

At a special meeting of the Society, held on the 8th day of Jany. 1840, at Hartford, by adjournment from Dec. 15th, 1839, the following resolutions were adopted: the first unanimously, and the second with but one dissenting voice:

"Resolved, That we recognize it to be the duty of all Abolitionists who exercise the elective franchise, to carry their principles to the polls, and vote for such men, and such only, as are in favor of impartial justice.

"Resolved, That we earnestly deprecate the organization of an Anti-Slavery political party as unwise, inexpedient, and wholly unnecessary for the success of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and, if sanctioned by any considerable portion of the Abolitionists, will, in our opinion, retard, if not destroy, the present Anti-Slavery operations."

Thus, while at every Convention of Abolitionists, and at every meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of this State, resolutions have been discussed, and with great unanimity adopted, recommending political action, and such action has been, with good effect pursued, no advances have as yet been made toward the formation of a distinct political party by Abolitionists. Neither do the advocates of human rights and impartial freedom believe that distinct political party organization would advance, but rather retard the cause which they have espoused. By the means of that kind of action which is proposed in the resolutions which have been adopted and recited above, the repeal of one of the most odious laws in our Statute-book has been obtained, and the passage of an Act securing the right of trial by jury has been secured, in cases of persons claimed as property. And had the people persisted in the practice of petitioning the Legislature as they began, no doubt can be entertained that some of the remaining obstructions in the way of the improvement and consequent elevation of the colored man, would have been removed.

The abolition of slavery, being a moral enterprise, must be accomplished, if accomplished at all, by moral means. And until convincing appeals shall have been addressed to the hearts and consciences of men, without distinction of sect or party, and in that way the public sentiment of the State shall be secured in favor of the "self-evident truths" contained in the Declaration of Independence—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;"—no beneficial effects could be expected to result from the formation of a third party; and whenever, by the persevering use of such means, the change in public sentiment shall be effected, no third party will be needed to accomplish the reform which we seek, but a majority of each of the existing parties, or of those which come in their places, will unite in the repeal of some laws, and the enactment of others, as may be requisite for the security of the rights of all men.

That kind of political action which flows spontaneously and irresistibly from moral principle, which prefers a good man because he is good, and rejects a bad man because he is bad, if persisted in, and from time to time calmly but firmly and fearlessly repeated, cannot fail to command respect, and commend itself to the consciences of men, with such power as ultimately to secure their cheerful co-operation.

The history of the temperance reformation abundantly warrants and confirms these conclusions. The advocates of that cause have not even proposed to call to their aid a third political party. And yet, by argument, by persuasion, and by petition, they have influenced the Legislatures of several of the States of this Union, our own among the number, to pass laws for the suppression of intemperance, the provisions of which so completely keep pace with the reform, that its friends in several of the States have been obliged to exert all their powers to sustain the laws, and in one of them their utmost efforts have been unavailing to prevent the repeal. So let it be in the matter of slavery. Persuade men that the holding of man as property is sinful, and correct legislation will follow, with all the certainty that sweet waters may be expected to flow from a purified fountain.

From the Youth's Cabinet.

Jamaica.

We have just examined files of the Jamaica Royal Gazette, ending May 2. The present governor, Sir Charles Metcalf, is considered less favorable to the laborers than his predecessor, Sir Lionel Smith. Yet in his message to the Colonial Legislature at the close of their session, on the 11th of April, he said:

"The great work of freedom has been accomplished with the MOST BENEFICIAL RESULTS. The easy and independent circumstances of the peasantry, as compared with those of our own countrymen at home, are very striking. Probably no peasantry, in any other quarter of the globe, have such comforts and advantages. I am very happy to add that in most respects they appear to *deserve their good fortune*. They are, I understand, generally orderly, sober, free from crime, much improved in their moral habits, constant in their attendance at public worship, solicitous for the education of their children, and willing to pay the requisite expense. For these inestimable traits in their general character and conduct, and the consequent benefits to the community, we are indebted in some degree, no doubt, to their *naturally good disposition*, but chiefly I apprehend, to those ministers of religion, of all denominations, who have devoted themselves to the religious and moral instruction of the peasantry, and to the education of their children. Our obligations, on this account, to those who have rendered this immense service, are immeasurable."

No witness could be more free from objection on the score of partiality, than the present Governor of Jamaica. He is the special favorite of the planters, while the *missionaries* think he is *hostile* to *them*. They have spoken so freely of him in public meetings, that the editor of this same Royal Gazette calls them traitors. Yet the editor says, of the language just quoted, "Sir Charles' opinion of the people is quite correct."

Speaking of the diminished sugar crop, the Governor says: "The deterioration of properties proceeds from the want of continous labor, which is the natural effect of an insufficient population, and of the means possessed by the peasantry of rendering themselves in a greater degree independent of going out to labor in the service of employers. The peasantry cannot be blamed in taking advantage of a state of things favorable to themselves, for the same would be done, under similar circumstances, in any country in the world, where the same freedom is enjoyed."

Thus it seems the Governor of Jamaica is fully convinced that the black people, who were formerly slaves, "cannot be blamed," for trying to be independent. He even commends them because they cheerfully earn money, and gladly pay it "for the education of their children." This language is not uttered in a suppressed whisper, but promulgated in one of his most public documents. The "*Royal Gazette*," which appears to be the grand organ of the planters, instead of denouncing the Governor's language as "incendiary," in closing its comments on the address, exclaims: "To say that we have read it with gratitude glowing in our bosom, with respect and admiration for our worthy Governor, would say little indeed for our feelings on this occasion."

After reading such expressions from the former slaveholders, we want words to express our contempt of certain zealous *democratic* editors, who within a few months, have talked about the "outrageous conduct" of the laborers in demanding 44 cents a day for hard toil in the sugar house.

American time-servers who bow to slavery in the day of its power, here is a lesson for you. Ten years ago, the Governor's language would have sounded stranger in Jamaica than it would to-day in South Carolina. Remember that in 1831, 4,000 of the laborers of Jamaica, were shot like dogs for resisting oppression; and in 1832, the Jamaica Legislature resolved that they would NEVER entertain a measure *tending to meliorate* the condition of the negroes."

Americans who are so odd as to love freedom, do not despair. Our proud republic will not always be *so far behind* that little province of a monarchy.

David Ruggles.

We cheerfully insert the following doings of a Meeting of Colored Citizens in Boston.

We trust the Mirror of Liberty will be well supported. Mr. Ruggles, in his arduous labors in behalf of his race, has had much to contend with; therefore we hope the means to sustain himself he may have without delay.

Meeting of Colored Citizens.

Boston, June 9th, 1840.

At a public meeting of the Colored Citizens of Boston, convened in the Association Room, Belknap-street, to consider the importance of holding a National Convention for the colored citizens of the United States, after the subject was fully discussed, and a committee of correspondence appointed to investigate the expediency of the measure, (on which occasion Mr. David Ruggles from New-York city was present,) the following resolutions were presented by Mr. John T. Hilton, and adopted by a rising vote. Previous to the passage of the resolutions, Mr. Ruggles made some appropriate remarks:

Resolved, That we hail with heart-felt joy, and bid welcome to our beloved city, the consistent, devoted, self-sacrificing, uncompromising, and indefatigable friend of the slave and universal freedom, David Ruggles, editor of the Mirror of Liberty, who, like David of old, has proved himself a good marksman by slinging the stones of truth at the consciences of the opponents of equal rights; convincing them that a sable skin shrouds a mind bold and fearless, that yields no principle, and pays homage to none but to God and Liberty.

Resolved, That we recommend the Mirror of Liberty (now about to be re-established by brother Ruggles,) to the colored citizens and tried friends of bleeding humanity, throughout the United States, as richly deserving of their patronage; that it gladdens our hearts to hear that such an organ is again to appear in the field, to do battle in behalf of that living principle which its title-page sets forth.

After the resolutions were adopted, Mr. J. B. Smith arose, and expressed a wish that Mr. Ruggles would inform the meeting of the fate of his suppressed letter, addressed to the New-York Committee of Vigilance last fall, in reply to their allegation, which appeared in the Emancipator and Colored American. As he had understood that Mr. R's. communication was suppressed or rejected from the columns of these papers, he wished to be informed of the truth of the report.

Mr. Ruggles rose and stated, that the report in relation to his communications being "suppressed or rejected from the columns of the Emancipator and Colored American," in the controversy to which the gentleman had referred, was true, but his adversaries in that controversy were in New-York. He was in Boston. He begged to be excused from animadverting upon that matter, where his opponents could not reply, lest it might appear to his friends that he was as unfair as his antagonists. He deprecated the policy of exposing the recklessness of a man, or set of men, where he or they could not be heard in reply, if they had a defence to make. The suppressed letter would be published in the Mirror of Liberty, which would appear in July next, when the public could judge of the merits of the controversy.

After Mr. R. resumed his seat, a motion was made by Mr. J. G. Barbadoes, and seconded, that a committee of ten be appointed for the distribution of and procuring subscribers for the Mirror of Liberty. An amendment to the motion was offered by Benjamin Weeden, that the number be extended to thirteen. It was received and unanimously voted in the affirmative. The following named gentlemen compose the committee:

J. T. Hilton, J. G. Barbadoes, J. W. Lewis, J. B. Smith, Thos. Cole, W. C. Nell, Rev. S. Snowden, B. Weeden, S. R. Alexander, S. S. Cook, William Wright, Joseph H. Gover, B. P. Bassett.

Voted, That the proceedings be published in the Liberator, and Colored American, and that the Emancipator be requested to copy the same.

R. ALEXANDER, *Chairman.*

C. Robinson Weeden, *Secretary.*

Our brother Goodell has good philosophy in the following. If the enemy are not exulting, why should some of our friends be so discomposed because of this or that man's religious opinions. Be of good cheer brethren, Anti-Slavery fidelity shall find its level in due time.

Good out of Evil.—Abolitionists, it must be confessed, make rather a grotesque figure, split up into so many different divisions, and belaboring each other so heartily, in their contentions about the best mode of carrying on their enterprise. But the almost total abstinence of any thing like exultation on the part of their intelligent opponents, shows plainly enough that our dissensions are not looked upon as indicative of defeat, through the want of that union which is said to be strength. Such earnest debates show plainly enough that Abolitionists are eagerly intent on their object, and think for themselves. There is nothing like the quietness of the grave-yard in our ranks. We give abundant evidence that we are living and moving men, wide awake to our responsibilities and interests. More union and less acrimony is doubtless a duty, but Divine Providence may nevertheless overrule our disputes, so as to carry our principles into every ramification of society, and among all sects and parties. Our Abolitionism, hitherto, has been a choice treasure, sealed up carefully as in a precious vessel, which we have been zealously guarding from the touch of the profane. But Providence may, perhaps, dash the vessel in pieces, and spill the contents, broad cast over the nation to work as a leaven, (

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Under this title, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, issued last week the first number of its new paper to supply the place of the Emancipator, of which the former Committee—unjustifiably, we think—deprived the Society. A copy of the prospectus will be found in another column.

The Standard is as large as the Emancipator was before its recent reduction of size; and is printed with new type, on excellent paper, in a style highly creditable to the skill and taste of the printer—Wm. S. Dorr—from whose press it comes. Indeed, in neatness and beauty of mechanical execution, it is equalled by very few papers with which we are acquainted, and is excelled by none, except perhaps, one or two of most elegant Literaries.

The editorial head is embellished with a handsome wood engraving, representing Liberty trampling on whips and broken chains, and supporting a banner gracefully rolling out from the staff, and revealing the motto, "*without concealment without compromise!*" By her side stands Religion, holding an open Bible in her hand, and pointing to the text, "*Truth shall make you free.*"

A large part of this number is taken up with the proceedings of the late Annual Meeting of the American Society, our own account of the Connecticut State Meeting, and letters from N. P. Rogers, and W. L. Garrison, written just before their departure for England. The remainder contains able and interesting original articles and judicious selections, embracing,—with Anti-Slavery,—a reasonable variety of miscellaneous topics. The editorials are animated and animating; high-toned and thorough-going; sound in doctrine, uncompromising and open, as the motto promises, yet generally liberal in their spirit and free from uncharitableness in their temper. We might, indeed, object to two or three sentences, but rather, we think, as being liable to a wrong construction, than as being really incorrect, or expressing a wrong thought or feeling in the writer's mind. In one or two instances also, we would have added a qualifying word or phrase to the general terms which are used. But the whole, taken together, evinces ability, judgment, zeal, and fidelity on the part of those who have the temporary charge of the editorship, which we doubt not will make the paper well worthy the patronage of the true friends of freedom everywhere.

The permanent editorship is to be assumed by our talented, and noble-hearted brother Rogers, as soon as he returns from England. His well-deserved popularity as editor of the Herald of Freedom; the soundness of his principles, the largeness and liberality of his views, and his honest frankness in stating, and fearlessness in defending them; his fresh vigor of thought and originality of style; the raciness, pith and point of his articles; and above all, his generous and whole-souled devotion to the cause—asking but the means to live, that his life may be spent in its service; drew upon him at once—when the selection of an editor became necessary—the eyes, not of the Committee alone, but of the friends of the Society generally, and his appointment is hailed, we believe, with almost unanimous approbation. His New Hampsire brethren will of course be reluctant to part with him, but we doubt not they will yield their preference to what seems generally regarded as demanded by the interests of the cause. The same hand which has heretofore held gallantly aloft "the little rag which rustles in the breeze of the White Mountains," (to use our brother's own phrase) will grasp with vigor and sustain with unwavering firmness, the tall staff of the NATIONAL STANDARD. The same arm which has wielded the sword of Truth so effectively, in the guerilla warfare of the hill-passes and rocky glens of New Hampshire, will defend with equal resolution, with equal strength, and we hope with equal, or even greater success, the banner which leads the marshalled hosts on the broad plain of general conflict. The very motto under which he battles will inspire him with ardor, and nerve him with energy. Congenial with every feeling of his heart, is the sentiment it utters. "*No Concealment—No Compromise!*" It is the very Daguerreotype portrait of his soul. "*Truth shall make you free.*" It is the vital breath of his spirit.

We hope our friends throughout this State, and wherever this notice goes, will exert themselves promptly and with energy to procure ample support for the Standard. Pour in the names of subscribers and the subscription money, on the principle of immediatism, and let not our brethren of the Executive Committee—the men on whom we have thrown the burden and responsibility of conducting our enterprise, be crippled and embarrassed by want of means to carry it on with vigor. In our behalf they have taken their stand in the fore-front of the array, and confronting the monster foe, have lifted up for us a standard against him.—Let us see that they are sustained. We will not say with Macbeth, "hang out our banner on the outward wall,—our castle's strength will laugh a siege to scorn,"—for we do not mean to stand a siege, or let our free flag float lazily over a beleaguered tower. Its folds are thrown out to flap in the battle gale. Onward let it be borne, over the shattered outworks and through the broken legions of oppression, "even to the imminent deadly breach," which the artillery of Truth is making in Slavery's central citadel.—Our warfare with the giant vice and crime of our land is not for self-defence merely—it is a war of extermination—extermination for which every combatant is vanquished in the strife. We think our knowledge of him to whose hand the ensign is entrusted, will warrant us in declaring it his fixed determination, formed in the strength of Freedom's God, that if he shall still be thought worthy to fill the post assigned him, the broad flag which we now unroll to the wind and commit to his keeping, shall yet flaunt gloriously in the breath of victor-shouts and the jubilee trumpet-blast; or be his winding sheet on the well-fought field, where "slain, *not conquered*, he dies *free*."

Let a like spirit animate those who have placed him in his responsible station, and there can be no doubt as to the issue of the contest. Liberty will stand erect on the broken scourge and shivered chain, and with the song of triumph on her tongue, will walk through the [illegible] blessings in her path with a hand alike liberal and impartial. Religion by her side will visit the dark places whence law and a wicked public sentiment now exclude her, and will pour her benign light into souls long imprisoned in the gloom of pagan midnight. "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and good will to men," will be the swelling anthem which shall peal from every hill-top, and echo through every valley, and mingle with the breeze which sweeps the wide prairie and sways the branches of the western forest, and dallies with the cane-tassels of the sugar plantation, and bows the nodding ranks of the rice swamp, and scatters the vegetable snow flakes of the cotton field, while the king of rivers shall bear it to the southern gulf, and sea shall give it back to sea, and earth shall send it to the bending sky, till Heaven itself shall join in glad response, and her crystal battlements grow tremulous at the jubilant acclaim.

From the Baltimore Clipper, May 16, 1840.

Cash for Negroes.

The highest cash prices will at all times be given for Negroes of both sexes, that are slaves for life, and good titles. My office is in Pratt-street, between Sharp and Howard-streets, and opposite to the repository—where I or my agent can be seen at all times. All persons having Negroes to sell, would do well to see me before they dispose of them, as I am always buying and forwarding them to the New Orleans market, who will receive and forward them to any Southern port, at the request of the owner. My establishment is large, comfortable, and airy, and all above ground; and kept in complete order, with a large yard for exercise; and is the strongest and most splendid building of the kind in the United States. And as the character of my house and yard is so completely established, for strength, comfort, and cleanliness, and it being a place where I keep all my own, I will not be accountable, for the future, for any escapes of any kind from my establishment.

HOPE H. SLATTER.

"Through the intervention of a friend, while at Baltimore, we visited the above establishment. We were conducted throughout the entire premises, by the proprietor himself. This abode of unrighteousness and misery we shall attempt to describe. The prison itself is situated in the rear of the mansion and office of the owner. The yard fronting the prison encloses an area, as near as we can judge, of about 20 by 25 or 30 feet square. The walls around it built substantially of brick, are about 20 feet high. We entered the yard through an iron grated door, the key of which was kept by a black man, probably a slave. Mr. Slatter informed us that during an absence of two months at the South, this man had had the entire care of the prison and of all the slaves within it. Back of the prison yard stood the gaol, in which the slaves are kept during the night. The windows are as strongly grated with iron, and the rooms appeared to be every way as secure as most of our country gaols. They were perfectly clean, so indeed was the entire establishment. Motives of interest if no other, would induce the owner to keep it in this state. The pantry was well supplied with hams and potatoes. The utensils for cooking and eating were much like those used by seamen in our navy, and soldiers in the army. Back of the prison secured by a chain and a strong iron grate, was a large Blood Hound, whose deep terrific guttural growl, and whole appearance indicated that he had been bred and trained for a specific purpose.

There were about 12 or 15 slaves in the prison at that time. One of them, a young man of 18 years of age, was of very light complexion, and light hair. Had we not seen him circumstanced as he was, we should never have suspected his being a slave, or holding any blood affinity to the African race. But poor fellow, he happened to be born of a slave mother, and therefore must taste the sweets of slavery for life. There was one young woman, a mulatto, as near as we could judge, about the age of 19. As a process was then pending in one of the courts between two slaveholders, as to whose property she was, she was put into the slave prison for safe keeping. The other men in the prison were of various ages, but all appeared to be in good health. They are here kept until their number is sufficient to make a good cargo, when they are shipped to New Orleans or some other Southern market. The owner of this establishment, Mr. Hope Hull Slatter, treated us in a very gentlemanly manner. He called the slaves up before him and asked them a number of questions, as to their food and comfort. He asked one of them if he did not have enough to eat and drink; to which the slave in a muttering under tone of voice answered, yes. The slaves evidently knew the design of the question, and the conditions upon which they must answer, and what the character of the answer must be. But while they stood in mute silence before us, their eyes spoke unutterable things. The soul, conscious of the deep, deep wrongs, dare not give utterance to its emotions. We asked him if he permitted his slaves to be visited by ministers of the gospel and others for the purposes of religious instruction and prayer. He answered that he did not, as such exercises invariably made them melancholy and injured their sale. These slaves might remain with him for months, and during all that time be deprived not only of the mere elements of education, but all means of moral and religious improvement. The minister of the gospel who is commanded to preach the gospel to every creature, is here met at the threshold of his duty, and debarred from executing the high commission given by the Sovereign of the Universe. As though it were not sufficient to deprive the slave of all that is most dear to the heart of man on earth, but the higher interests of eternity must be put in jeopardy to gratify the cupidity of a dealer in the blood and bones of his fellow man.

Mr. Slatter informed us, that in his sales he never separated husband and wife, and mother and children. He voluntarily stated that he bought and sold them to make money. He also gave us his history, said that he was born in Georgia, of Methodist parents, that his mother had been a member of the M. E. Church between forty and fifty years, that all his brothers and sisters were now members, he himself was named after *Hope Hull*, one of the most celebrated Methodist ministers ever in that part of the country.—"Gentlemen," said he, "I suppose this business looks cruel to you, but I was born and educated in the midst of slavery, and have been engaged in it for a long time. I should be glad to get rid of slavery if we could get all the negroes out of the country, but that will not be, and as it is I like slavery."

There were some eight or ten of us, (Abolitionists,) in the prison at this time, all from the conferences in N. England. We remained as long in the prison as we could well endure the feelings which the scene created, when we turned our backs upon these deeply wronged fellow-beings. If possible, we were more deeply than ever, convinced of the wicked and abhorrent character of that abominable system, which turns man into a brute, makes him an article of traffic and speculation, and tramples the image of Jehovah in the dust. As to the individual who carries on this nefarious business, we could feel no other emotions towards him than those of pity and regret. We could not consider him so criminal as those in the possession of greater light who apologize for this system. Will there ever be wanting men in the community to carry on this traffic, so long as ministers of the gospel are slaveholders, slave apologists, or attempt to defend slavery under any circumstances? Why should the slave dealer be accounted a sinner above all men, while the virtuous and the professedly pious, constantly wrest from the slave the fruits of his toil, and his right to himself? The slave-trade is but a part of this great system of iniquity, though it is sometimes accompanied with circumstances of great cruelty. When it sunders those whom God has joined in the bonds of holy wedlock, when it tears from frantic parents, their innocent offspring, the pledges of their mutual love, it violates the expressed will of God, but we cannot regard even these circumstances as the most wicked part of this system of "complicated villany." The violation of personal liberty, the subjecting that will to the will of another which God designed should only be subjected to himself; the constituting of man, the lord and proprietor of his fellow-man, whose will must be his sovereign law, constitutes its most abominable feature. The only lordship God designed man should ever hold, was a lordship over the brute creation. In them the right of property, the chattelizing principle is clearly recognized; but man, made in his own image, constituted, as it were, a deity in miniature, was armed with the illustrious and tremendous attributes of physical, intellectual, and moral freedom.

He that presumes to infringe upon either of these endowments, without divine permission, assumes a prerogative which belongs alone to God. This permission was never granted, except as a punishment for crime.

Of all the painful circumstances connected with the history of Slavery's doings, none is more painful than the fact, that professedly good men, attempt to justify Slavery under some circumstances. So long as this practice shall continue, Slavery will live—when it ceases, it must die. When the moral sense of the Christian Church, North and South, shall become keenly alive to the great moral wrong, the sin of slaveholding, slavery will be frowned out of existence. It is the fault of most of the systems which have been put in operation, for the melioration of the condition of the people of color, of these United States, that they have overlooked the sin of slaveholding. Whereas, the first thing to be done for the colored man is to restore to him his rights—rather restore to him, himself. What though such a restoration leave him pennyless, having no claim to a foot of the soil upon which he treads; if he may but raise his unmanacled hands to heaven, in gratitude for freedom, his inherent birth-right; if he may but stand erect under the broad canopy of heaven, conscious of the dignity and high destiny of his nature, such a possession would be infinitely more to him, than though as a *slave* he reposed upon the lap of wealth, and all the beauties of nature were put in requisition to gratify his senses. Immediate, entire, unconditional emancipation might be attended with some temporary evils, but there would be none which would merit a comparison with the evils of the continuance of Slavery for a day.—*Wesleyan Observer.*

From the Philanthropist.

Abolitionists cannot abandon their immediatism, otherwise they too would be shorn of their strength. Their appeals would soon be as ineffectual as those of gradualists. Now, they stand on the ground of right, and appeal to principles in the slaveholder's nature, which cannot but respond. And it is this very response, which, in awakening compunction and alarm in the breast of the slaveholder, inflames him with anger against Abolitionists. He feels at once that he has no armor that can resist their weapons. Their method of reasoning is so direct, that to admit their premises, is to pass sentence upon himself. In fact, he has an enemy in his own camp. His own conscience is the fulcrum on which the lever of truth is placed, to move the world. It will there be felt, binding man to his fellow man, and heart will respond to heart, as the outgushings of those hallowed sentiments which moved them to assemble, break upon the ear. From this high eminence the voice of O'Connell will be heard in every quarter of the globe, announcing to the broken hearted captive, that the day of deliverance draweth nigh—yes, that voice shall penetrate the snows of Russia, the jungles of India, and the dank rice swamps and cotton fields of America, and the pining bondmen shall hear it and rejoice. Yes, and the poor slave mother in her lonely shed, as she weeps that she has brought another slave into the world, shall hear it and press her infant closer to her heart, a thousand fold dearer than before, and from the fulness of her soul, bless God that in that voice she recognizes the token that her child, at least shall be free. And Africa, bleeding, outraged and downtrodden Africa, under the renovating influence of the voice that emanates from this Convention, shall yet arise and claim her rank among the nations of the earth, and in the overflowing of her gratitude, stretch forth her long manacled hands, unshackled, in thanksgiving unto God. Who can enumerate the blessings that shall flow from this assemblage, and who does not pray that such anticipations may speedily be realized!

Among the French Abolitionists we are pleased to see one mentioned, whose name causes ever true republican's heart to swell with a thousand grateful emotions,—"the noble son of a most noble sire"—George Washington Lafayette. His association with the Abolitionists of France, proves him worthy of the name of Lafayette and an inheritor of his father's virtues. May he long bear that honored name with honor.

We shall endeavor to lay the proceedings of the Convention before our readers, at as early a day as possible.

Third Party Movement.

We find that the impression prevails to some extent, that the convention on the subject of Independent Nominations, to be holden here on the 18th, is to be an open meeting in which all Abolitionists will have liberty to express their views and vote, whether favorable or adverse to the third party movement; but on reference to the terms of the call it will appear that it is not so. If any are allowed to speak in opposition to the third party project, it will only be by sufferance. If the getters-up of the convention had been willing to make it an open meeting, submitting the result to the judgment of a majority of the Abolitionists who might assemble, after a full and fraternal discussion of the whole subject, we would have signed such a call. But no. The prevailing views of Abolitionists on this subject were known to be adverse to the movement. Hence the exclusiveness of the call. We accord to our brethren the right to meet and deliberate, even with closed doors, if they so elect, but at the same time it is right that our friends should be fully apprised of the manner in which the convention is to be constituted, and what measure of freedom is to be enjoyed by freedom's friends.

We should have felt less inclined to allude to this subject now, were it not for the fact that the *programme* of the whole movement in regard to a third party, so far as Vermont is concerned, appears to have been concocted almost wholly under the auspices of volunteer friends in neighboring States; and this, when it must have been well known that the Vermont Society, and all its accredited representatives were, (as they still are) totally opposed to the new experiment of a third party.—*Voice of Freedom.*

Letter from a Woman of Ohio.

Ohio, 6th mo. 4th, 1840.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

It is not in accordance with the customs of the age, but with feelings of lively affection, I address thee in this manner. The more I see of the servile disposition of men to the enemy of human rights, the more I feel united to one whose enlarged and expanded soul has taken into view the relative condition of not only man and his Creator, but of woman and of her God, who has decreed that he alone is worthy of honor and praise—whose law is supreme and paramount to all other law, whether of new-organization or old—and who, when in the secret retirement from worldly concerns, calls upon the soul directly, and through no human instrumentality, to press onward in the cause of righteousness and humanity, without fear of man; and shall we, under these high and holy considerations, bend our necks to the yoke of sectarian despotism? Shall we come forward and declare that we have no right to express a sentiment? Ar we created the mere tools of man's fallible nature? Heaven forbid that woman should ever endorse such sentiments as these; which of themselves are sufficient to equalize her with the brute—to make her more abject than the southern slave—for, being in a manner free, she is to be so bound as to be unable to assert, in that liberty with which Christ has made her free, that no power should stand between her and her Creator—that she possesses no fear but the fear of offending him. When we take this elevated position, every thing which falls short of it is oppressive and repulsive. We must either retract our convictions of right, or wound the inward and nobler feelings of the soul, and bring them into subjection to individuals who, from the prejudices of education, or the narrowed conceptions of sectarian pride, wish to confine our views within the compass of their comprehensions. Such a sacrifice has been made in some measure at our Ohio Anniversary, although a few noble spirits were there to vindicate our cause. I presume ere this you have heard of our disunion with the parent Society. In spirit many of us are with the old organization; and we believe the time will come when this dark cloud will pass from our bright horizon and leave not a shadow behind. I do not know, as an individual, whether I should ever vote or not. Our right, however, to do so should never be disputed, that what conscience calls we may be free agents, and when sent as delegates, that we should be acknowledged as such.

But I will hasten to a conclusion, believing you fully understand the subject and are willing to do it justice. But I would like to see females come out, while a few noble spirits linger on earth to cheer us onward. There is a glow of pleasure passes through my heart when my eye catches a glance at the Liberator. The cares of the world are for a while forgotten, and I rejoice that my family and country have a paper, advocating in its fearless manner the reforming principles of mankind. I will merely add, in reference to the woman question, that Abolitionists should *never* adopt a rule of action or endorse a sentiment which will not bear investigation in the light of truth.

This ennobling position once attained and persevered in, will put woman upon a level in religious and moral reformation with all of God's rational creatures. But if the new organization principle prevail, it will paralyze the efforts of at least one-half of our most distinguished and active Abolitionists, and bring a stigma upon our character as an enlightened community, professing to understand the principles of universal emancipation.

Yours in the cause of the slave,

M. H. GRISELL.

A Slaveholder's Confession.

In a debate on the subject of slavery, recently brought up in the new school Presbyterian General Assembly, at its late session in Philadelphia, a certain Dr. Hill, from one of the slave states, remarked:—"That though born in a land of slavery, it was an abomination to his feelings. It was a grief to him when a boy, and it was a grief to his heart up to this very moment. He was left an orphan when five years old, with a patrimony of a few slaves and a little land. He never increased the number of his slaves, and outlived them all. When he married the wife of his youth, with whom he still lived, her father knew his feelings on the subject, and wishing to give his daughter some servants, they were secured to her, so that he has no control over them. His wife holds a woman and four children as slaves. He had offered them their liberty and the means of settling in Africa, but they had refused to leave. He then went into the Bible argument on the subject of slavery; read various passages, and expounded them as not condemning slavery as in itself a sin." Such is the report given of this D. D's speech.

Now all this looks just about as consistent as slavery itself. In the first place slavery was to this Rev. Dr. always 'an abomination.' It had ever 'been a grief to him from boyhood up to the present moment.' This sounds very plausible. Who would think of finding fault with this *pious slaveholder*, under the unfortunate circumstances he here sets forth!! But reader look a little further. After avowing the above sentiments, this Rev. Dr. deliberately takes up the Bible, reads certain passages, and expounds them in such a manner as to justify slaveholding. Does he believe his Bible? Why then is slavery an abomination to his feelings? Does the Bible justify abominations? Does the Bible assert that slaveholding is not in itself a sin?—Why then is slavery such a grief to him? Is he grieved at what the Bible teaches? First reprobate and condemn the whole system of slavery, and then undertake to prove that the Bible justifies it—*eh?* If such men do not mean to establish their characters as hypocrites outright, they had better keep their lips forever sealed on the subject of slavery. Such arguments are almost sufficient to make Infidels. —*Christian Herald.*

Error Corrected.

The last Christian Witness, in attempting to convict our friend Rogers of a misstatement concerning A. Tappan, jumps to its conclusion with a haste which forgets to ascertain first the truth of its premises.

It quotes Rogers as saying, that A. Tappan "could not accept the Presidency of the old society, because he said there would be conflict between it and the new, and he would not mingle in these contentions," and asks "is Mr. Rogers correct?"

We think he is. But the Witness goes on to copy Tappan's note of resignation, which contains nothing of the kind, and then adds,

"A correct estimate of Mr. Rogers' perceptive powers may be formed from the fact that in the above quoted sentence he has discovered the declaration that there will be "conflict" and "a war of extermination" between the old Society and the new, though at the time it was written the new Society was not in existence, even if it had been thought of. One great advantage which will result to the readers of Mr. Rogers' new paper from this wonderful perception of its editor, is, that they will get the news of important events not only in advance of all other papers, but previous to their transpiring; for with such a fertile imagination the editor can never be at a loss for 'facts.'"

Now, it happens that the fertility of "imagination," and the deficiency of "perceptive powers" are in this case on the other side of the house;—with him who asserts that Rogers found in *A. Tappan's note*, "the declaration" of which he speaks. Rogers does not say so, nor do we discover any allusion to that note, in his whole letter. The ground of his statement is this. A committee from the Nominating Committee waited on Tappan, to ascertain if his declinature was absolute and final, it being intended, if such were not the case, to renominate him. We are informed by one of that committee, that in his interview with them he made, in substance, perhaps in terms, the declaration attributed to him by our friend, who, moreover, was himself one of the committee. The Witness will of course correct the error, and its editor will not take it amiss if we ask him to remember that in other instances as in this, the supposed facts on which he forms his unfavorable opinions of the old society and its friends, may have no existence but in his supposition or the misrepresentations of his informants. We are confident it is so.

In the general charges he brings against Rogers and his editorial conduct, he does our friend great injustice, but their truth or falsehood is in a great measure a matter rather of opinion than of fact;—what our brother would call "recklessness" and improper "temper and style," being very possibly, in the estimation of as competent judges as himself, altogether different things. We will add that the articles of the Witness for some weeks past in regard to the recent division and its causes, have exhibited to our mind, much more that is objectionable both in style and matter than we have seen in the general course of the Herald of Freedom, in relation to the same subject, though we are far from approving every thing which we have seen in the latter paper.

The "pleasing and striking contrast" to the spirit of Rogers which the Witness finds in that of the new society, appears much more in the peroration of its Address, than in its general tone and tenor, or in the course, so far as we have been able to observe it, of its prominent and active members. We are constrained by a regard to truth to say, that thus far the pacific and conciliatory deportment of these persons, has been much more in profession than in practice. We are glad if they have resolved to do better hereafter, and hope they will set an example which they will be willing to see the friends of the old society imitate. We do not say that they alone have erred, but our very position says that we think them to have erred more widely than the other party,—far more widely, we now add.—*Pa. Freeman.*

Correction.—The last Emancipator mentions that the sentence in the American and Foreign Society's Address, which spake or seemed to speak, of the 464 delegates from Massachusetts as "styling themselves Non-Resistants," has been so changed that the meaning now "corresponds with the precise fact in the case." What the exact nature of the change is, we do not know, but if it has the effect ascribed to it, the Committee would do well to carry the work through, till the same effect is produced on the whole address. It would become then a different thing from what it is now. We have seldom if ever seen a document emanating from so respectable a source, which struck us as containing, in the same space, more of unfairness, more calculated to produce wrong impressions on minds which rely on it for information, than that address. In the single paragraph in which the correction has been made, there were, as it first appeared, not less than five or six errors as to fact, either expressed or implied. We do not say they were intentional errors—but, however honest the design, they are none the less deviations from truth.—*Pa. Freeman.*

The following we take from the Philanthropist, and is contained in a letter from Rev. J. Blanchard. Mr. Blanchard there goes on to give his reasons for voting for Gen. Harrison.

DR. G. BAILEY—Leaving Massillon, I preached, on Sabbath afternoon, on the subject of Abolition at Canal Dover, Tuscarawas County. The first discourse on the subject the people had ever heard.

I was told that the sermon produced the usual effects, conciliating those who were present and hardening those who refused to hear.

There are a few Abolitionists at Dover, and also a few slaveholders. One Dr. Slingloff, disputing fiercely with a neighbor of his on the Anti-Slavery doctrines, being, of course, hardly put to it to dispose of the opposing arguments, cut the debate short by an exclamation, which he doubtless thought a sufficient answer to all Anti-Slavery logic—"Sir," cried he, "I own slaves myself." I have been amazed at the extent of the Slavery connexions extending even to the north part of the State. Almost every village has more or fewer persons who have inherited Slaves, or whose near relations reside in the South. These persons, not witnessing the abominations of the system, are too often bribed by the ties of interest or of blood, to defend or apologise for Slavery, as even Southern men, who know its horrors, cannot do.

The National Party.

I have heard many, very many of the old tried Abolitionists express surprise and regret that Mr. Birney should have accepted the Albany nomination. You know that my views accord with theirs. If he had accepted the nomination when it was first tendered to him, it would have been infinitely better for the third party interest. Every reason that he urged against acceptance then seems to me to be more cogent now. *I do not know of one society, great or small*, in favor of a third party at this time. Many of the leading societies of the land have voted decidedly against it. The only Abolition editor in Massachusetts, who advocated separate national nominations, has left his chair. The vote of the New-York Committee, requesting brother Leavitt to desist from the advocacy of a third party, stands unrevoked: and, I must confess, that the putting up Birney and Earle for the support of Abolitionists, at this time, seems to me to be altogether a Babel measure, which can only result in confusion.

You recollect that some friend at Massillon was greatly amazed, perhaps scandalized, when he learned that, some months since, I expressed a wish that the Whigs might succeed in the pending canvass, and a determination to give Harrison my vote.

Colorphobia!

One day last week, the steward and chamber-maid of the steamer Bangor, having been on board a vessel, laying at one of our wharves, to take leave of a female friend, were grossly insulted and abused by a rabble of men and boys, while walking quietly back to the boat. And what, reader do you suppose was the trouble? Why, simply, that the complexion of the lady in question did not happen to be quite as dark as that of her companion, although both of them were colored persons! She was supposed to be a white woman, walking with a colored man; and for this offence against the good taste (!) of a rabble of vile characters, she was pursued, together with her companion, and compelled to seek refuge from violence in a store in Water Street! This same woman was compelled, a short time since, as we have been informed by a colored brother, to leave the Charlestown omnibus because she was black! Transactions like these serve to illustrate the character of modern Christianity, which dooms millions of human beings to chains and degradation on account of the complexion which the God of nature gave them.—*Libera.*

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1840.

Going to the South.

Why do you not go to the South?

Why must you be so foolish as to meddle with the subject of slavery at Mobile—get yourself mobbed, and be compelled to come back to the North—when, had you been prudent, you might have made your fortune?

The first of these questions we may suppose were put to Charles Simmons before he went to Mobile—the latter has probably been put to him more than once since his return to Boston. His case furnishes clear evidence to a thinking mind, of the futility of going to the South to preach the gospel. Well does every minister know, that the gospel of Jesus will not allow of silence upon a system of such foul crime. Too well is every young minister aware that he must be false to his trust if he does not oppose its extension, and advocate its instant abolition. How unwise is it then, for a man to go South to preach the gospel. If he is true to his trust, he will be driven from the country; if false, he will only make one more of the vast body who have already turned their backs upon their Redeemer, and have put him to an open shame. The whole territory is cursed of God: slavery reigns triumphant there.

The Christianity of the South is a false, sickly sentimentalism; utterly powerless, and destitute of those noble and commanding qualities which true religion possesses. There is no power or virtue in it; its influences are all deadly; and, as far as it operates, it plucks from man his conscience and his love of justice, and transforms him into an open and unblushing defender of the blackest of abominations.

Only think of the religion of the apostles' days. While it adapted itself to men of all conditions, and converted people of all tongues; while, by its truthfulness and its evident harmony with the philosophy of man's nature, as expounded by the great apostle, it acted like magic upon the stoic at Mars Hill, and found its way to the soul of the effeminate Ephesian, it kept aloof from all compromise, and gathered to itself a dignity worthy of its author. It taught him who embraced, never to violate principle—but to make great sacrifice, and always, in his life and conduct, to exemplify it in its highest perfection, by freely and fully forgiving all *wrongs*. Clothed with such majesty, Christianity marched from conquest to conquest: opposition only aided her, and she stood with thousands at her feet as she expounded unto them the immortality of their natures, and bade them rejoice in the hope of Heaven.

When wavering, she lifted their purpose; when weak, she strengthened their endeavor; when tempted, she shielded them: and in all things she proved herself worthy to be their director. She opened to them new thoughts, wakened in them high aspirations, disciplined them to perfect obedience, and made them good soldiers of the cross of Christ. Idolatry bowed before her as to a superior power; and though Jerusalem lay in ruins, yet was Christianity triumphant.

Compare her as she then was, with what she now is, especially at the South, and who is so stupid as not to perceive the difference. The breath of the pestilence will not prostrate the physical energy of man sooner than Southern Christianity will paralyse his moral power. She is decidedly worse than Catholicism, and does incalculably more mischief than unblushing infidelity. Bad as man is, he pays some deference to the forms of virtue. He declines being considered a violator of all decency. He would not willingly be thought to feed vice and minister to licentiousness. Consequently, except in cases of the deepest depravity, he clothes himself in the dress of virtue. Who does not perceive, however, that such a course amplifies his power to do evil, inasmuch as it lulls suspicion to sleep and he walks among men upon the credit of his character. He furnishes presumptive evidence that he is what he appears, and he thus adds to his influence and fortifies himself against rebuke.

Every successful impostor has taken the semblance of virtue—has made his appeals to the higher powers of man's nature—has mixed up evil with good so skilfully, that the world has been led astray from the straight path.

All false religions are powerless just in proportion as they speak to the lower propensities, leaving many higher faculties asleep. The spiritual must predominate for the time, or the man cannot be moved to sustain a rotten religion. He must be led along till his enthusiasm is aroused, till his passions are enlisted, till his affections are pledged, and he becomes in a measure identified with its success—then may the veil be withdrawn, and he will look upon the deception with an unblenched eye. He will make himself believe the shadow is the substance—the image of virtue, virtue herself.

This is the condition of the South. She wears the cast-off robes of Christianity, and to a great extent has deluded the Christian world into the belief that she is the favored of the Most High; when, if there is any truth in revelation, or unperverted human nature, she is doubly abhorred of him.

We appeal to every candid mind if it would not lessen his ideas of the character of Jehovah, if he were assured that he gave his sanction to a system that revelled in the choicest hopes of the human heart, and destroyed the happiness of millions. We complain of Catholicism. But she holds no slaves. She knows no aristocracy of skin. She is a stranger to the Negro Pew. She stifles investigation and chokes thought.—So does Protestantism. She excommunicates for free inquiry.—So does her great rival. She moves the earth to maintain her claims undisputed, and to keep her victims easy.—So does the reformed religion. Her priests are lords, exercising authority over God's heritage.—Protestant ministers are no better. Catholicism keeps her place by her tact.—Protestantism by openly defending the unrighteous claims of her clergy and throwing her sanction in favor of imbruting man and wiping out from his brow the last trace of God's hand.

Now Southern Christianity prefers the blasphemous claim of coming from heaven, of having the Bible as her great defender. It is this monstrous assumption that blinds the minds of the people. They cannot bring themselves to that degree of sternness to judge her not by her professions, but by an unerring rule—by her fruits. It borders on an uncharitableness, and they shrink from the application. We tell our readers it must and will be done. Truth demands it, humanity calls, and it shall be done.

The drunkard that wallows in the street can never influence the destinies of youth, leading him imperceptibly to ruin—like the man, who, unexceptionable in all else, drinks his draught occasionally. In the former case there is no deception. Vice appears as she is, and the power of transformation has passed from her. But in the latter, she is more dangerous than the fabled Circe. The creature has assumed the form of an angel of light, and peril is imminent. There is a fascination about her that seals the doom of the youth, unless some kind hand pulls him from the charmed circle.

There is not half the danger of the open infidel beguiling the believer of his hope of heaven and causing him to make shipwreck of his faith, as there would be were he to come in the guise of a friend. So with modern Christianity. It lacks the three essentials of pure religion—Justice, Mercy and Love. It scoffs at justice and defends robbery. It laughs at mercy and justifies cruelty. It hoots at the idea of the equality of man, and declares that love is mere effeminacy.

But it does this under an angel's robe, well knowing that its great prototype shapes himself to the company he keeps, and adapts himself with wonderful tact to the influences around him. Infidelity is better than hypocrisy. There can be no form of action so abhorrent to God as appearing to be what we are not. Self-delusion may meet with palliation, but hypocrisy is damnable. A false religion is as much worse than none, as true religion is better than false, inasmuch as the one leads him not at all. These points are equi-distant.

We therefore say, that if Southern Christianity were abolished, slavery could not live. She finds her props, the pillars of religion; her place of refuge the Bible, and her security for quiet, the guarantee of the professed church and ministry of Christ. Could she be stripped of this array, could she be made to stand out where the people could fix upon her for one thrilling gaze that her ugliness might write itself deep upon their memories, her life would be short.

As it is, like the veiled prophet of Khorassan, she gathers about her the beautiful and the brave, the lovely and the intellectual, while triumph follows her footsteps. But his deformity, and the dreadful secrets of his inner chamber were not more surely made known than the horridness and crime to which she has given protection shall be unveiled to the light of day.

Of what use, then, to go to the South? An effort to save her by direct application would be as useless as to put a cataplasm on a gangrened limb. Her salvation depends upon a rigid adherence to our measures, and we are sorry to see any of our friends deceiving themselves with the idea that going to the South would help the matter. Such persons will always talk, but never go. The main pillar of slavery is in our midst. Its support is the religion of the North. As Southern Christianity supports slavery, so Northern religion gives respectability to that, and the ministry support the last. Like a self-supporting staircase, the system uncoils itself circle by circle, till a look at the two extremes enables us to see slavery at the summit, the clergy at the bottom, and the religion of the North and South in the centre.

It is a demonstrated *truth* that, in the removal of an evil in a popular government, an onset should first be made against those who are the least effected. The soundness of this philosophy is evident for two reasons. 1st—Those least interested are the easiest won. 2d—When won, they hold a moral influence that leads them to win others. Here, then, lies our battle. Amid our hills, under the shadows of God's temples, with those whose associations bind them to Slavery less, and to freedom more. We are the least infected. There may be as much of the spirit of Slavery, but less of overt action in the case; and from the fact that the North holds no slaves, and vaunts loudly of her love of liberty, is her power to do evil increased when she bends herself to the sustainment of the system.

An individual's power to do evil is commensurate with his power to do good. If he throws his influence in favor of Slavery, his approximation to the line of division will be the measure of the injury he will do to the cause of freedom. Any action is dangerous in proportion to its disinterestedness, provided it is cast for *wrong*. If this be true of all the professions, of all the classes of society which is the most dangerous? Most clearly, the clergy. They *claim* the most disinterestedness, and as society is structured, it awards it. Then let us hold them responsible. The man who appropriates to himself the most virtue and benevolence—if found destitute—deserves a merited rebuke, and community will justify the act. What do the ministers of this land claim? That they are the messengers of the Most High. That they perfectly understand the philosophy of the Bible and of humanity, and what are they doing?

Are they valiant for the truth? Are they defending humanity? No. They are our bitterest opposers. Leagued together, they enter into shameful compromises. Whip their slaves and preach the gospel in the same day. Sell Jehovah's image in the shambles, and lift up their voice in prayer, and gather together from earth's four corners, to make the people satisfied with their "jure divino" claims, and obtain their assent to let Slavery alone. This class forms Slavery's life-guard, and with religion for a cloak, they will let the slave die in his blood, ere they will abate a jot of their demands to power and place.

In this, as in every reform, they are the last to aid and the first to claim the reward; but we feel thankful there are a few who love humanity better than power, and who take their reputation and lay it at the slave's feet and take up their lot with him. Such we own as brethren—the rest, as foes of humanity, and we tell them that unto them, as unto every other class of society, that throws its influence against human liberty, truth will reach them, though cased in steel, and an awakened peopled shall mete out to them unrestricted justice.

The Convention in London.

A World's Convention! What an idea! A convention of the noble, the high-minded, the good. A convention of earth's loftiest spirits; those that strive mightily for the elevation of their race. What man could have hoped ten years since to have made such a proposition and have retained his standing in society? But there they are in London; holding solemn and grave deliberation upon the condition of their fellow-men. How exhilirating the thought! The contemplation of it fills our spirit with an enthusiasm that is almost uncontrollable. We feel as if we could abolish space and take our seat by the side of the NOBLES there assembled.

How they will gaze as they look upon each other the first time—there will be the noble Brougham, whose voice has been heard for freedom—there will be the great agitator, Daniel O'Connell, the man whose fame will be sung by some future Moore, in strains sweet as ever fell from mortal lips. There will be the indefatigable Buxton, and the philanthropic Sturge. There will be George Thompson—"the out-law—the felon—the deceiver in this country"—so cried the politicians and the clergy; but in England the honored, the admired, the most eloquent of all her mighty men. The man who bows his audience by the power

humanity erected in London, and their voices shall swell with others in the shout for Freedom. Switzerland, amid whose hills the breath of Liberty has lingered for ages like some favored spirit, whose goodness had induced a prolongation of its stay on earth, shall have her representative to tell of her struggles for the enfranchisement of her people, and the story shall be sweet and pleasant. Egypt, the meted and peeled, perchance may have a voice in that Convention. She has felt for thousands of years how bitter *Slavery* is, and as her better day is dawning, she may catch the inspiration, and throw in her influence. The isles of the sea, where Slavery has reigned without molestation for 200 years —where the blood of the ignorant and innocent has flowed in streams to the mighty deep, even they have bowed to the spirit of the age, and their soil is *free*. From those verdant isles there will come up the toil worn bondman, now bondman no more. The patient, eloquent and humble missionary, who has, amid ignominy and insult, imprisonment and public degradation, never faltered in his step, whose heart has remained true to the commission of his Maker, will be in their midst the messenger of glad *tidings*.

From this land, too, there will be minds and hearts, that in eloquence, depth of thought, logical argument, and devotion to enslaved humanity, will yield the palm to none. There will be N. P. Rogers, whose burning eloquence has found its way through the frosts of New Hampshire to many a frozen heart, and thawed it into life. There is, too, the dignified and logical and gentlemanly Birney, whose heart alive to the suffering bondman, has caused the shackles to fall from the limbs of those whom unjust laws had put in his power. He will tell of the down-trodden and the dumb, and they will see the man who has set an example which slaveholders will yet delight to follow. There is H. B. Stanton, who, amid the hills of the old Bay State, took Slavery by the beard and shook her till her knees smote together, and her eyes grew dim with terror—God forgive him for having spared her to clip the locks of his strength—and now that they are grown, grant him grace to retrieve the errors of that ill-fated hour, and make his latter end brighter than his beginning.

Wendell and Anna Phillips will be in the throng. He to charm by his deep-toned and stirring appeals, and to convince that audience by his own personification of high-souled freedom, of the natural nobility of manhood. While she, the early and munificent friend of the slave, will feel in her soul the right to share in the deliberations of a World's Convention.

Charles L. Remond will tread those boards with the skill of a master, and every eye that falls upon him will sparkle as the conviction fastens itself upon them, that he is in every sense—a man.

There is William Lloyd Garrison, whom to know is to *love*—whom to appreciate, is to honor—who, abused and reviled, maltreated and slandered, like his Divine Master, can forgive. Whose steady, unfaltering course has made him hosts of enemies, as it has lifted him beyond the reach of their malice—whose rebukes have thrilled the land, and waked it from its torpor. Seven years since alone he went a "*reckless adventurer*" (!) to London, and grappled with Colonization—unfolded her wicked designs—and returned to receive the Hosannahs of those who now cry "crucify him." So treated they his Master in Jerusalem; and it is sufficient that the disciple be as his master, and his servant as his Lord. Now he has gone again to stand on a London platform, while his hands are held up by thousands, who know his fidelity to truth. He is there to tell of the battles of freedom, her triumphs, and the trophies she has won. And we "venture to predict," in the language of Gerrit Smith, that he "will occupy more space by far in the eye of the British public, than any man from the United States."

There are George Bradburn, and Isaac Winslow, and Henry Grew, and last not least, Lucretia Mott, the peerless among women: "we predict" that her voice will swell in sweetest harmony through the vast hall where they will hold their sittings, and that she will convince Jew as well as Gentile, priest and layman, that she has A SOUL. With what deep anxiousness do we await the intelligence. How sublime must be the feelings, how hallowed the aspirations of those convened. We believe that the Convention will result in good. The eyes of all Europe are upon it, and the deliberations and conclusions to which it will come, may be the commencement of bolder, hardier, and more successful efforts. Of one thing we are satisfied. The cause of *freedom* will be advanced. The day has gone by when any measure can long retard her progress; she has acquired too much momentum to be jostled from her path.

"The soul of the past has come
To its ancient home,
In the hearts of men,
To resume its reign again.
O, Fame! with a prophet's voice,
Bid the *ends* of the earth rejoice:
Wherever the proud are strong,
And earth is oppressed by wrong,
Wherever the day dim shines,
In the cell where the captive pines;
Go forth, with a trumpet's sound.

Go! tell to the nations round,
On the hills where heroes trod,
In the shrine of the saints of God,
In the Cæsar's hall, in the martyr's prison;
That the slumber is broke, and the sleeper hath [risen,
That the day of Oppression and Slavery is o'er,
And EARTH feels the tread of FREEDOM once more."

Our Delegation to the World's Convention.

Nathaniel P. Rogers, Charles L. Remond, Lucretia Mott, and William Lloyd Garrison, are the immediate representatives of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the World's Convention.

It is natural for us to feel a peculiar interest in them, and watch, with a fraternal solicitude, all that is said of them.

From the Christian Witness, edited by Wm. H. Burleigh, we take the following:

"We had hoped that this 'woman question' would not be impertinently thrust upon the London Conference, especially as it is contrary to the usages and repugnant to the principles and feelings of the British Abolitionists, and of all others throughout the civilized world, with the exception of a handful in this country who are appropriately called 'Garrisonites,' in contradistinction to *Anti-Slavery* men.—Lucretia Mott ought to have more respect for her sex, if not for herself, than to consent to be made the tool of a disorganizer, for the purpose of accomplishing his ambitious designs. We know this lady well—and for kindness, hospitality, benevolence, and purity of life, she has no superior—but in morals she is an ultraist of the most ultra stamp—in religion a latitudinarian in the widest sense, and we should not be surprised if she should so far forget the true dignity of womanhood, in her untractable zeal for what she terms 'principle,' as to attempt to take her seat as a delegate in the 'World's Anti-Slavery Convention.' If she does, and mutual distrust, heart-burnings, and confusion, result from such a step, upon her and her advisers will rest the 'tremendous onus' of putting back the day of the slave's redemption, and sacrificing mercy and righteousness to an insane caprice."

Putting back the day of the slave's redemption! What cant is this? And who that knows Lucretia Mott, will heed it, save in sorrow for him who uttered it.

A woman whose life is one bright irradiation of truth and love; whose innumerable daily acts of kindness and sympathy among the unfortunate and sorrowing, make her, in addition to her public labors, the loved of a thousand hearts.

A few may for a time, perhaps forever, think of her as the tool of a disorganizer, seeking to check the onward progress of a cause he himself launched into existence, but the bursting shout of freedom's rallying word will acquaint all that love the cause of the bondman, that she was incapable of staying for a single moment the rush for his rescue.

But we pause; this is not the place for us to write her defence: defence, did we say! legions of angels watch her from their blessed abodes.

Let him who has written thus cruelly of one of the most devoted advocates of Anti-Slavery principles, see to it that his own bosom is free from a rankling sectarianism, before he charges her with being ready to sacrifice mercy and righteousness to an insane caprice.

The Reverend Joshua Leavitt, in the last Emancipator, stigmatizes Wm. Lloyd Garrison as a reckless adventurer, determined to rule or ruin, and as having gone to the London Conference to make that august body a tool to his purposes at home.

Where was our brother's religion, when he penned such things of him who, for nine years has labored diligently, by night and by day, to arouse his fellow countrymen to action in the slave's behalf.

Mr. Leavitt is a professed minister of Jesus Christ, one whom we have respected; but such an unloving spirit—such bitterness—such sarcasm, and such loss of self-respect as he manifests in this article, tell us that a change has come over him, and that he carries with him a "wounded spirit." Brother Leavitt will find it a heavy load. May he be kept from it. The tumult in his own bosom, if he is not lost to himself, if his perception has not become clouded by the intensity of his anger, will make him deeply wretched, and his own sufferings will tell him that a man without the spirit of Christ is none of his. Again do we say, may the Lord preserve him! We should never walk erect among men again, were we conscious of feeling as brother Leavitt feels—toward the bitterest enemy we have on earth.

Pro-Slavery Republicanism.

A pro-slavery republican is a queer character. One would think it hard work to find such a being. And yet there are thousands at this instant—at least they claim to be such, they maintain with great earnestness that Slavery ought not to be abolished *immediately*, that it is the height of nonsense to let all the slaves loose at once, and yet they are *republican*. Ask them, what makes up republicanism? Their answer is, EQUAL RIGHTS. Ask them what that government is which denies the doctrine practically and is fast doubting its truth theoretically, and they are struck dumb. They instead of answering you directly, and thus showing that their right to the title of REPUBLICAN is as light as air—will "twist and look *pale*, untwist and look *red*" and then whisper in your ear—"Out of two evils choose the least."

Now says the Whig—here is W. Henry Harrison *the great warrior*, the profound statesman, the incorruptible patriot; and the honest man. On the other hand there is Martin Van Buren,—Stop Mr. Whig if you please! We will let the Democrat expatiate on the value of his candidate. Commence Mr. Democrat! "There is Martin Van Buren the hero of Kinderhook, the great statesman, the profound jurist, the eloquent lawyer, the grand diplomatist, the sagacious politician; and the honest man." Which will you have Mr. Whig? Harrison to be sure!—Which will you have Mr. Democrat? which will I have! The glory of this land, Martin Van Buren. And you each choose as you do to avoid the greater evil! Yes! Which gets it gentlemen! I get it, says the Whig. You are no gentleman! exclaims the democrat. You are no better than you should be! retorts the hard cider defender of his country's honor. Hold, gentlemen! You both are very foolish in your dispute, but not so foolish as you will be, if you vote for Harrison and Van Buren. Where did you get the skill and forecast, the second sight to tell six months beforehand, which of these two candidates will produce the greatest evil. From their promises and pledges you can derive no evidence, because they dare not live out their principles. The man who, for office, will trample down the fundamental principles of a government over which he may be called to preside, will not scruple at any collateral points.

The man who to secure his seat will openly pledge himself to disregard the will of the majority on a certain point—when it is vital to humanity, will not shrink at sacrificing his constituents upon any measure of policy—provided his position is strengthened thereby—such a man is Martin Van Buren. The man who silently prates of his love of Liberty but durst not say a word about it openly; shows that he can keep silence, when to speak would be salvation to the slave; and thus furnishes incontrovertible evidence that he can be non-committal as to *policy* when his own interest demands it. Such men are lauded as patriots—and as proof thereof men get drunk and wallow in the streets that in honor of their republicanism—there might be no doubt. Now Mr. Whig and Democrat, we ask "each and every" of you whence you get authority to "choose between two evils."

If you may choose between Van Buren and Harrison because you love your country so deeply, why deny the benefits of your philosophy to the poor slaveholder? He may choose between emancipation on the soil or expatriation, between immediate abolition or "*by and bye* deliverance" from the yoke of bondage and what can you say to him Mr. Whig? You may reply he keeps a man from his rights and has no right to any option in the matter. We rejoin,—so are you keeping men from their rights—or if you are not, you show your good will so to do by urging a system of ethics that once embraced and enforced would stop human progress in morals forever.

There can be nothing plainer than this. You take this reasoning as the basis of action and you claim to be the judge when you will put it in to practical operation. You must allow every man the same right,—Your rule is valueless unless universal: if universal the effects are as above supposed; for every individual is armed as with triple steel, who may spend his life in canvassing moral evils. The mischief stops not here. It of course allows a man to do *Evil* provided he only chooses the smallest of any two that may present themselves.

This at once destroys all well defined ideas of RIGHT. No man can have them who is alone dependant upon his power to settle conflicting interests, for so broad and extensive in their ramifications are many of the evils which in fest society that it is utterly impossible for any man to decide which of the two is the greater. Then again in the decision which the two politicians are about to make, there can be no safety, for it depends entirely upon the consequences—and they are hidden in the womb of futurity. This philosophy is as false as the Koran. It has not a shadow of truth, and yet like the vermin of Egypt it has crept up among all classes and all are influenced more or less by it.

The man who adopts it has an *indulgence* to do wrong to any extent, and full absolution is granted him, if he be sure that in choosing he has avoided a greater—though the one he chooses is as huge as Olympus. Who then can feel safe under such a code of morality. The souls of the martyrs of the early days of Christianity all attest its falsity. In accordance with its teachings were they murdered. Rome with her thirty thousand gods demanded of them abjuration of Christianity and allegiance to statues of marble, and for refusal—they were sawn in sunder and their lives sacrificed. Had they adopted it they might have *lived*. We beseech our Abolition brethren not to make themselves a hissing and a by-word but to follow TRUTH, that they may have her consolations, when they will be needed. More anon!

We call the attention of our readers to that portion of the last report of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society on our first page. In addition to its sound argumentation, it is written in an uncommonly clear and forcible style. We suppose it is from the pen of Doct. Bailey, the editor of the Philanthropist.

The time has gone by for printing as many of the annual reports as formerly;—but the good reasons in that of the Connecticut Society induce us to extract from that also.

Our readers will also find an article from the Friend of Man in which our brother Wm. Goodell defines his position.

Several favorable notices of our paper and its object have appeared in our exchange papers. We publish two—one from the Liberator and one from the Pennsylvania Freeman.

Expose of the Rhode Island Convention.

In 1836, the Rhode Island Convention held its sittings at Providence, when it put forth the expose of which the following is an extract. Wm. Goodell is the author, and it bears the stamp of his logical power. For its truth and acuteness it was much quoted. We give the above extract that those who have counselled division among us and have seceded, may know how brother Goodell felt at that time, about the co-operation of women.

The thoughts therein expressed are so much better than any of our own, that we forbear arguing the question atlength, only saying that there is little danger of our being convicted of heresy by unbiased minds while we can quote from the writings of William Goodell to so good a purpose as we do this week.

The more the community look upon this struggle, the more they will sympathise with us. With all our boasted freedom of thought and conscience, the religious part of the community have been held in slavery little inferior to the times when ministers of the gospel so called, and civil rulers "ordained of God" vied with each other in kissing the Pope's toe.

But the day of subserviency is rapidly passing away, and it is natural that a class of men who have been so long accustomed to unquestioned spiritual supremacy should manifest some excitement, as the advancing spirit of freedom jostles them. We pray they may be content with serving Christ's flock, instead of lording it over them, and then will they deserve and will have the sympathy of all the lovers and believers in true Christianity.

The numberless sects into which the professed church is divided, are all attributable to the struggle of the priests on the one hand for place and power, and the people on the other for freedom, because the majority of the churches which have seceded and are called *Protestant*, have thus done for *church government*, clearly showing that the people felt enchained, and that it is true of ministers as of any other class of men, that they abuse their power in proportion as they can wield it unchecked.

One other fact shows that the clergy are at the bottom of this division, and it is this:—the charge that we are infidels and anarchists. This of itself shows the origin of the division. The people would have never thought of such a nonsensical *cry*. They mingle with men in every day life, who are disbelievers in Christianity—belong to the same party in politics with them—avail themselves of the same chances and opportunities—write, and subscribe for, and read the same journals—and in fact, in all the relations of life but the Anti-Slavery cause, show that they are troubled with no dread of the infidelity of the land.

But this is the *cry* which the clergy use on special occasions; and when they see that any reform in its progress is likely to lessen their hold over the weak and timid, they open their mouths and from one end of these broad lands to the other, nothing is heard but "down with the infidels, show them no mercy!" We ask for no mercy, but for *justice*, and that we will have.

Fellow-Laborers.

In pleading for the rights of freemen, we shall not deem it inexpedient nor disorganizing to appeal to freemen themselves, to the great body of our equal fellow citizens. In a moral warfare against *Aristocracy*, we shall not rely on the *aid* of aristocratic *influence*. We shall not deem it needful to select the reputedly wise, the scribe, the disputer of this world, the mighty, the rich, the noble, to the exclusive confidence of our counsels. But few of them, we fear, are called to this holy enterprise; while "God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the weak things of this world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of this world, and the things which are despised, yea, and things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."

We shall not adopt the policy of abandoning the tried friends of the cause, because their early faithfulness has made them unpopular,—nor thrust them aside to make way for those who offer to espouse our cause, only on condition that they shall have the pre-eminence.

In pleading for the *wrongs* of woman, we shall not spurn woman's *aid*. Nor shall we count it unmanly to be fellow-laborers with those women who labor much in the Lord; nor effeminate to be ministered unto, by those who, in ministering to our Divine Master were—"Last at his cross and earliest at his grave." We shall not seek to symbolize with that heathenism and infidelity which would deny to the female sex a participancy in our rational and immortal nature; and exclude from an active influence in the welfare of their species, one half of the human family, and *that* half, too, by whom the earliest and deepest moral impressions are formed.

In seeking to instruct mankind in the great precepts of the Divine law; and the grand duties of man to his fellow man;—in striving to perpetuate our civil and religious liberties to the latest posterity—to avert from our country the judgments of Heaven, and to cast up a highway for our God, we shall not deem it a weak and puerile device to teach these things diligently to our *children*, and train them up in the way they should go. Nor shall we coldly rebuke, when children cry—"Hossanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

If any additional evidence was wanting to prove the Colonization scheme, the pro-slavery organization at the North, the following makes it perfectly clear to the most captious. Elliott Cresson has long been known as a violent and unscrupulous defamer of Abolitionists, and an wholesale asperser of the colored man. Think of a member of the Society of Friends, travelling South to repudiate the doctrines of George Fox.

African Colonization.—Mr. Elliott Cresson long known as an intelligent, active and philanthropic agent of the American Colonization Society, and whose personal exertions in the cause have had Africa and Europe, as well as America, for their theatre, is now in our city, and has had interviews with many of our leading citizens, furnishing them with explanations and facts, calculated to show the direct interest of the South, in sustaining the scheme of African Colonization, as a means of counteracting the warfare of Northern Abolitionists, and foreign incendiaries against Southern institutions. We have long been of the opinion, that however Utopian may be the dreams of those who regard Colonization as a means of extirpating African Slavery in America, still the plan itself of colonizing the free colored people of America on the coast of Africa, is entitled to high respect as a work of Christian philanthropy, tending to improve the social and moral condition of that degraded class, who now constitute a vagabond and incendiary population at the North, and thus both to relieve America, and ultimately to civilize and christianize Africa. In nearly all the Southern States, except our own, the Colonization Scheme has met with favor, and considering its direct antagonism to *Abolitionism*, which advocates emancipation without deportation, it is well worthy of consideration whether the true policy of the South is not to be found in casting its weight in the scale of the former.

We commend Mr. Cresson and his views to the favorable consideration of our citizens. He is recently from Savannah, where he made a highly favorable impression—and no one can be more decided than he is in opposition to Northern incendiarism, and to British machinations against the institutions and commercial and agricultural interests of the South—on which last topic he is prepared to give much interesting information.—*Charleston Courier.*

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Politicians.

When a man chooses the political path, as the avenue to preferment and fame, we may, as a general proposition, affirm, that in order to succeed, he must lay aside all troublesome scruples of conscience, scout honor, and forego the claims of justice; in other words, sell himself to Satan.

If a man possess talents and acquirements, he may succeed politically, simply by paying the price—a price fearful in its nature and incalculable in amount—but nevertheless one which too many are eager to pay.

This tremendous price has been paid by Daniel Webster, who has thrown himself, body and soul, into the arms of the Southern Oligarchy.

He has become the champion of CHAINS and WHIPS, OF THE FOULEST AND MOST BLOODY TYRANNY WHICH NOW CURSES THE WORLD!!

This man, with his gigantic intellect, transcendant talents, and vast acquisitions, might have become the grand advocate of humanity, and have won undying fame by devoting himself to her holy cause.

Instead thereof, how humiliating the contrast, with reckless desperation, and an insane oblivion of the principles which animate the sons of New England, he barters all that is pure in principle and lofty in conduct, in the hope of elevating Gen. Harrison to the Presidency!!

But let me tell him, that the "world does not hang by his crooked nose," as Horace says, that in proportion as he courts southern influence, he lessens himself in the estimation of his constituent body in Massachusetts; that although they may love Daniel Webster well, they love liberty more!

With what an air of magisterial and dictatorial authority does he speak of the Constitution of the United States!

He assumes, although he does not name it, that that "sacred compact" is in favor of Slavery; that the instrument which was expressly ordained to ESTABLISH JUSTICE, *secures the right* to commit with impunity the most ATROCIOUS INJUSTICE. The Declaration in the Preamble to the Constitution is certainly ample evidence of intent, and if any of the articles contravene its spirit, the construction must be in favor of Liberty.

But Slavery is not mentioned in the Constitution, and all that can be gathered in favor of that abomination from that instrument, is by inference and implication, a mode of argument by which any thing can be proved.

Until the terms *person* and *chattel* become synonymous, we may with safety affirm that the Great Charter of Liberty is not desecrated by a single clause, sustaining that hateful monster, Slavery.

To be sure, we know that no absurdity is too great, no contradiction too palpable, to be gulped down by southern slavocrats; they would have us believe that what their State laws declare to be *chattels personal, to all intents and purposes whatsoever*, are not to be regarded as *persons* by the ORGANIC LAW OF THE REPUBLIC!! On this point Abolitionists are not fearful of meeting the Great Expounder of the Constitution himself.

One would think by the lordly style of Mr. Webster's speech, that he is Senator by divine right, he seems to forget that the people of Massachusetts have a custom of thinking and deciding for themselves!

But let him take heed and beware! *no man*, who is recreant to the great principles of Liberty, can long maintain the confidence of the people of New England; just in proportion to the towering height of his present elevation, will be his melancholy—his irreparable fall!

* * * * * * * * * *

Late events have taught Abolitionists not to repose confidence in any man, however eminent for endowments or acquisitions; but principles are omnipotent and immutable; we change and the sight is indescribably mournful; but let us not be depressed; the same God who has begun the good work will carry it on to its consummation: let us, therefore, thank Him, and take fresh courage. F. F. M.

Union Herald.

We see by the Union Herald of June 18, that our good brother Myrick offers to receive subscriptions at his office for the Standard. This voluntary action on the part of our friends is just what we like. We have never witnessed more enthusiasm from the "true and tried" friends of the Slave than we witness upon the reception of the first No. of the Standard as manifested by letters constantly coming into our possession. We are cheered beyond measure and feel strong in the faith that we shall triumph: Sectarianism and narrow-mindedness aided by a grasp for power are bitter foes wherewith to contend, but *truth* is stronger than all. We will do our best to make our paper beloved by the friends of the Slave and feared by his enemies.

When we get time we may publish some of the letters we receive—they are not many of them from the gentry—the titled and "would be" aristocracy of the land they are from the people—the democracy—that portion which always makes itself respected eventually in any struggle between right and wrong and to which the lordlings of the land will in times of danger appeal for protection. This is the help we want. Come on *brethren*, wherever you are! Let the world see a move for human liberty once more, equal to the days of 76. "Remember those in bonds as bound with them"—and remove from their seat of power those in church and state who despise human equality, and respect not your rights. We will put Bro. Myrick on our list of local agents—feeling that as for ten years back, so for years to come, we shall find him by our side battling against our common foe. *On to the rescue.*

Letter from a friend in Western New-York.

The "STANDARD" is *splendid* beyond description. Dost thou mean to insult me by asking me to furnish seven subscribers at $1 42 each? Dost thou suppose that I would be guilty of forwarding less than ten names, and those at the full price? Thou must have a very poor opinion of my Abolitionism. In ordinary times and under ordinary circumstances, I would furnish twenty subscribers, but as it is, can send but ten subscribers and $20, which I shall probably mail in a few days to Isaac T. Hopper, if nothing happens to prevent.

We come on nobly, and the paper commands universal admiration. I think it will be well sustained if it holds out as well as it has commenced.

How many paying subscribers have you, and how many will it require to support the paper?

I am, as ever, thine.

Anti-Slavery Office.

All orders for publications, and all letters in relation to the STANDARD, should be directed to ISAAC T. HOPPER, 143 Nassau Street.

We are now neatly and snugly seated in the old office of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The rooms have had a thorough cleansing—the walls have been newly plastered and whitened, and look beautifully. Our rooms are large and airy, and we anticipate much pleasure in grasping our friends by the hand and telling them how nicely our ship is sailing, now she is in clear water. A fine breeze favors us, and we go merrily. Let the true-hearted cheer up, and with lively enthusiasm, let us all press forward to that point where the greetings of the FREE shall touch our ears sweet as the melody of Heaven.

All communications for publication in the Standard, should be superscribed—to the "Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard," 143 Nassau Street, N. Y.

Terms of Subscription to the Standard.

We want the Abolitionists to understand that our paper is not to have a mere ephemeral existence; that it is to be what its name imports, and that the style and character of the paper shall be such as shall delight the true-hearted. The STANDARD will float its proud banner until the song of Freedom leaps from the lips of the stricken and hunted outcast at the South. We know that a man reads a paper with more delight, that he appreciates its arguments better, and takes more interest in its success, when he feels that the paper is his, not ours; that it is paid for, and he peruses its pages as a matter of right, and not by sufferance. Let our friends take pains to pay us for our efforts to furnish them with a beautiful and cheap journal. One dollar and twenty-five cents will pay for the journal a year, when 20 copies are sent to one address. One dollar and forty-three cents per annum will pay a year, when seven copies are sent to one address. Send in your subscriptions. Hoist the STANDARD from your upper windows, let the breath of Heaven fan it. God and the poor bondman will bless you, and your sleep shall be sweet.

Agents Wanted.

We are in want of some half dozen or dozen good Agents, to get subscribers for our paper. We want men who will feel that this journal is the organ of the Abolitionism of the country that its course must be upward and onward, warring against every thing that is opposed to the rights of man, no matter how firmly planted that opposition may be, or where is its resting place. Such men we want, and to them will be given a commission that will enable them to maintain themselves and the paper at the same time. Letters should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER,
Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 143 Nassau st.

Subscribers to the Emancipator.

Those individuals who subscribed for the Emancipator, as the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society for the current year, are informed that by making known to our publishing agent their preference for this, and their post office address, shall receive the Standard gratuitously for the time they have paid for the Emancipator.

Local Agents for the Standard.

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MARRIED,

At Hallet's Cove, June 16th, MORRIS M. DAVIDSON, Esq. of this city, to ELIZABETH S., daughter of Dr. John Stratford, late of Bytown, U. C.

June 18th, DAVID VAN HORN FLOYD to ELIZA FERGUSON, daughter of the late Henry Kermit, Esq.

DIED,

In this city, on the 16th inst., THOMAS SIPKINS SIDNEY, aged 23 years.

Fourth of July.—The time has arrived, when, if it has not been already done, our friends in the various towns should make their arrangements for a proper observance of the old 'powder-smoked' anniversary. In Boston, we are happy to learn that an Anti-Slavery address is to be delivered by Dr. F. F. MANFORD, late of Georgia. We shall expect from him something worthy of the occasion and the cause, and doubt not that he will be greeted by a numerous audience.

The New Hampshire Fair.—The devoted women who struggled through peculiar difficulties in getting up the late Fair at Concord have been rewarded beyond their most sanguine expectations. The nett proceeds amount to $197,17. The managers have decided to have another Fair during the session of the fall Convention.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Prince Albert and the Slave Trade.—In a great meeting in Exeter Hall, London, June 1, for the extinction of the Slave Trade, Prince Albert presided.

On taking the chair, the Prince said:—"I have been induced to preside at the meeting of this Society from a deep conviction of its paramount importance in promoting the best interests of civilization and justice. (Loud cheers.) I deeply regret that the exertions which have heretofore been made by civilized Europe to abolish the dreadful traffic in human beings, have failed of success. (Loud cheers.) I therefore trust that this great Society will not relax its efforts until it shall have put an end, finally and forever, to this trade, which is so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and to the best feelings of our nature. (Loud cheers.) Let us then hope that Divine Providence will prosper our holy cause, and that under the auspices of our Queen (tremendous cheering,) and Parliament, we shall at no distant period be enabled to accomplish this great object for which we have this day met. (Loud cheers.)

His Royal Highness delivered this address with a slight foreign accent, and in a manner remarkably simple and unaffected. On resuming his seat he was loudly applauded.

Movement among the Colored people, of Wilmington.—The colored people of Wilmington are organizing a Temperance Society, on the ground of total abstinence, under the name of "the Temperance Society of Colored Americans." We anticipate great good from this movement, not to themselves only, but to the citizens of Wilmington generally. There is much drinking, and much drunkenness in that class of population, and they are excellent customers of the grog shops, licensed and unlicensed. So far as the experiment has been tried in Delaware, and the neighboring county, they have been found quite as faithful to their pledge as the whites.—*Standard.*

Texas.—The New Orleans papers of the 8th inst. contain Galveston dates to the 3d.

The Civilian says, business of every kind is completely at a stand, and our wharves, which during the winter, wore such a business like appearance, are nearly deserted; every thing is dull; the markets being confined to small sales of articles for immediate consumption. We shall discontinue our prices current until the fall business commences.

The steamboat Constitution collapsed one of her boilers, and a Mr. Rice was so scalded that he died in consequence.

President Lamar was in Galveston, and we see a notice that he was to hold his levee at the Tremont House, at 11 o'clock of the 2d of June.

The Trinity River was very high, the water flowing beyond its natural bounds nearly the whole length of the stream.

It is understood, says the Galveston Courier of the first, that arrangements are making, or already made, to have an agent of our government at New Orleans, who has the power and authority to fund in that place the promisory notes of Texas, in conformity with the act of the last session of Congress, the same as if those notes were presented at the treasury department in this country.

Canada.—The wheat crops in Upper Canada are said to be as promising as those in this State.

Michigan.—Appearances continue to be favorable. So large a portion of last year's produce is on hand that people are somewhat indifferent about the crops of the present season.

The Buffalo Commercial notices among the arrivals of *one* day at that port the following:—ship Milwaukie, from Cleveland—3,000 bbls. flour, 11,000 staves, 50 bbls. beans, and a lot of grass. Brig Rocky Mountain, from Michigan city—1,200 bbls. flour, 1,500 bushels wheat, 150 bbls. whiskey, 100 bbls. pork, 100 hides, and 50,000 staves. Brig Illinois, from Michigan city—4,440 bushels wheat 325 bbls. pork, 200 bbls. flour, 100 hides, and 3,000 staves.

Illinois.—The Peoria Register says the wheat crop in that part of the country is very promising. Much of last year's crop is still on hand, with no immediate prospect of a market. Indian corn is backward, but in other respects looks well.

Flour and Wheat.—The quantity of flour and wheat cleared at Buffalo on the Erie canal from the opening of navigation to the first of June, with the amount of tolls received by the Collector at that place from 1837 to 1840, inclusive, and also at Lower Black Rock for the year 1840, is as follows, viz:

Year.	*Bbls. flour.*	*Bush. wheat.*	*Tolls.*
1837	9,725	57,353	17,991 05
1838	52,749	178,393	42,108 98
1839	81,768	183,191	50,815 15
1840	156,968	100,352	66,202 67
Lower Black Rock.			
1840	13,503	2,265	7,889 85

The Nantucket Inquirer has just published a table, from which it appears that upwards of five hundred American vessels are engaged in the whale fishery, of which 264 belong to ports in Massachusetts, with an invested capital of $9,800,000.

The New bridge across the Alleghany, connecting Pittsburg with Alleghany town, just completed at an expense of seventy thousand dollars, is 1057 feet long and 42 wide.—On the top is a delightful walk, twelve feet wide, safely protected on each side by hand railings and lattice work. It is the fourth bridge across the river within the distance of a mile.

First Railroad in British North America.—The Gleaner, published at Miramichi, May 26, gives an account of the opening of the railroad from the Albion Mines to South Pictou. It is stated that the delays which have been heretofore experienced in loading ships with coal, need not now be apprehended, as they will henceforward be delivered from the end of the railroad, on board of all vessels drawing 13 feet of water, and under.

Jones Hanway, exclaimed against gin, a favorite beverage among the lower classes in England, as a liquid fire, and said, "I would propose that it should be sold only in quart bottles, sealed up with the king's seal, with a very high duty; and never sold without being mixed up with a strong emetic."

The Hessian fly is destroying many of the fields of wheat in Erie, Huron, Seneca, and Sandusky counties. We understand that there are thousands of acres which will not produce the seed.

The Boston and Portland Railroad is now completed as far as Exeter, and the cars will carry passengers to that town, a distance of forty-eight miles, this week. The time occupied will not probably exceed two and a half hours from Boston.

Exploring Squadron.—A letter received by the Seretary of the Navy from Lt. Wilkes, dated on board the Vincennes, at Sidney Head, Dec. 26, 1839, states that the exploring squadron was then under way for the antarctic region. Officers and crews all well.

A pickerel has been caught in Black river, near Ludlow, Vt. which weighed 12½ pounds.

Books.—New editions of 'Archy Moore' and 'Despotism in America,' may be had at 25 Cornhill. They will no doubt have a rapid sale. Every Abolitionist ought to have a copy of each of them.

A Catholic Total Abstinence Society has been formed at Albany.

The Nantucket sheep-shearing—the great holy-day of that nation—commenced on Wednesday last. The flock consists of more than 10,000.

St. John, N. B. June 10.—Cheap Bread.—The Bakers of this city, we learn, have agreed that the price of Bread shall, during the present low price of flour, be as follows:

2 lb. Wheaten loaf,	. . .	4d
2 lb. Mixed do.	. . .	3½d
4 lb. Rye do.	. . .	5d
2 lb. do. do.	. . .	2½d

Superfine Flour is now selling at the Mills for 32s. 6d., and American from 35s. to 37s. 6d. per barrel—which is cheaper than it has been sold in this market for a number of years past. Large quantities of wheat and flour are constantly arriving from American ports.

The papers of St. John, N. B. take ample notice of a fat ox imported by their butchers from Portland, Maine, weighing 2,400 lbs.

The Revenue.—By a recent Report from the Treasury Department, the revenue, from 1st January, 1840, to 1st June, is stated as follows:

Customs . . .	$6,091,951
Lands . . .	1,396,202
Miscellaneous . .	32,676
	$7,520,829
Collected from former deposit banks,	522,628
Issue of new Treasury Notes,	1,427,166

At this rate, the total revenue for the year 1840, will be eighteen millions—not enough.

The Eastern mail hence, will hereafter be forwarded to New Haven by the steamboats six days in the week. On Sunday it will go by land, as heretofore.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Mobile, June 11.—Steamboat Disaster.—The Robert Morris in descending the river, on the night of the 8th inst. when about 20 miles above the city, came in contact with the Arkansas, going up, and received such damages as to sink in a few minutes. It is not fully ascertained as to how the accident occurred: both boats were under a full head of steam, and struck on each other's bows with tremendous force. The Arkansas is the larger and stronger boat, and escaped without serious damage.

Mobile, June 12.—Storm at St. Joseph's.—We learn from the St. Joseph Times, that a severe thunder storm occurred at that place on Monday last. A chimney of the pavilion, occupied by Captain Bachelor, was struck by the electric fluid. A number of gentlemen were in the bar room, all of whom were more or less affected by the shock. We regret to add that Mr. Montgomery, of Bainbridge, Georgia, was struck on the neck by a piece of glass, which severed the jugular vein, and notwithstanding surgical aid was immediately procured, he died in fifteen minutes.

The Steamer Unicorn has arrived in safety at Halifax, making her passage hence in thirty-eight hours.—*Boston Transcript.*

Claims on Mexico.—The Board of Commissioners to adjust the claims of citizens of the United States on Mexico, will sit in Washington. On the part of Mexico, Mr. Cortilio is one of the commissioners—the other not having been yet appointed. The king of Prussia is the umpire, and is represented by his minister at Washington, who will decide on cases as to which the board may disagree, and will receive the same compensation as a commissioner, half from each of the two governments concerned.—*New-York Sun.*

Apalachicola.—The export of cotton from Apalachicola, for the week ending on the 6th inst. had been exceedingly heavy, and from the scarcity of vessels, freights still continued high. Nearly every vessel in port had received her cargo, but still there were many thousand bales on hand. But a few bales, however, had arrived from the interior, owing to the low state of the river, and a disposition in many of the planters and merchants to hold on for better prices.

Congress.—On Saturday the Senate did not sit.

In the House, after the business of the morning hour, which was unimportant, the debate was resumed upon the Independent Treasury bill. Mr. Colquit, of Georgia, and Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, spoke at length in favor of the bill. Mr. Wagner, of Pennsylvania, followed on the other side. Mr. Cooper, of Georgia, had the floor for Monday.

Manufacture of Silk.—We learn by the Burlington (N. J.) Gazette, that the business of reeling silk—reeling the cocoons into raw silk—was commenced on Thursday at the company's cocoonery in that city. All the cocoons which may be brought to Burlington for sale, it is added, will be purchased for cash at the cocoonery, or reeled upon shares. The Piedmontese reel only is used, and the operations of the season will be confined to the rearing of silkworms and the conversion of cocoons into raw silk, for which a market is already secured.

Singular and Ominous Phenomenon.—During the night of May 25th, the water of Lake Erie, in the bay and river at that place, began suddenly to rise, and soon swelled to a heighth, in front of the town, never before witnessed by the oldest inhabitants. The night was calm and still—no wind or storm had been observed to sweep over the country,

POETRY.

Stanzas.

I.

Life! thou bright flash between the infinitudes
Of posthumous and antenatal gloom;
Life! thou identity of different moods,
Whose thread but ties the cradle to the tomb,—
Oh! how have saint and sinner, sage and Vandal,
Conspired to bait thee with abuse and scandal!

II.

In one thing thy accusers never vary,—
Thou'rt brief and wretched—an establish'd charge;
Yet both the cynic and voluptary
Have time upon thy shortness to enlarge,
Finding it sweet to mourn life's want of sweetness,
And wasting fleeting breath to prove its fleetness.

III.

Turn where we will, we meet the same morose
Complaints of evanescency and wo,
Some are malignant, others lachrymose;
But all consider life a deadly foe—
A scapegoat, to be cursed and vilipended
By every tongue and pen,—by none defended.

IV.

What! is it little to exchange the night
Of nothingness for sun-lit earth and skies?
Little! to taste the strange and keen delight
Of life's most sweet and thrilling mysteries?
Life—in whose every stage content and gladness
O'erbalance still its suffering and sadness.

V.

Oh! who can e'er forget that glorious prime
When mere existence was delight supreme,
When the young world, a changeful pantomime,
Was an enchanted and enchanting dream?—
Mirth, sunshine, fragrance, birds a flowery wildwood,
Such is the recollection of our childhood.

VI.

And manhood, though its smiles be dashed with care,
Whose bitter only zests the sweeter hours,
Are not its duties an enjoyment rare
When pressing forward, with developed powers,
We claim the meed of virtuous endeavour,
Or seek a name that shall endure for ever!

VII.

Even old age, so feared and so maligned,
Has pleasures which earlier grasp elude,—
Tranquility, respect, content of mind,
And a heart-soothing pious gratitude,
As from the loopholes of retreat it gazes
On the world's vortex safe from all its mazes.

VIII.

Yes, life for each division of its course
Has separate charms as well as joys for all;
Are not the senses an o'erflowing source,
Whose lawful pleasures are perpetual,
Or changed, as fancy prompts, for the enhancement
Of intellect's unlimited entrancement!

IX

What sweetness, too, in the embosomed train
Of fond affections that our being bless!
The ties of kindred, love's empassion'd reign,
Friendship's consolings, home's true happiness!—
Pleasures which nature bountifully proffers
Alike to those of full or empty coffers.

X.

And what a palace for creation's lord,
Wherein to taste life's banquet, rich and rare!
Sun, moon, and stars, its festal lamp afford,
The winds and birds make music in the air,
And for its pictures, earth, sea, sky, have blended
Their various beauties in profusion splendid.

XI.

But what are all the privileges, rights,
And glories, of a fleeting world like this;
What its most pure and exquisite delights;
Compared to that eternity of bliss,
Perfect in kind, and endless in endurance,
Of which a well-spent life is the assurance!

XII.

For life itself, thus loftily endow'd
With present certainties, and future hopes,
For life itself, apart from every mode
Prefigured by our fancied horescopes,
For life, with life's conditions unconfounded,
All, all, should feel a gratitude unbounded!

XIII.

Into the vale of years now sinking fast,
And forc'd, when young, to fill a toilsome round,
Through life's successive stages have I pass'd
By birth unaided, and by wealth uncrown'd;
Yet all by happiness have been attended,
And on my heart have blessings still descended.

XIV.

For these I thank Thee, God! by night and day;
And when Thou sendest death to close mine eyes,
Unmurmuring will I thy will obey,
In humble hope and trust again to rise,
And snare those mercies still, O gracious Maker!
Of which on earth Thou madest me a partaker.

The subjoined lines, by the English poet Motherwell, recently deceased, express so truly the feelings which are outraged by the American Colonization Society, that they may claim a place in the columns of the Anti-Slavery Standard.

The Expatriated.

No bird is singing
In cloud or on tree,
No eye is beaming
Glad welcome to me:
The forest is tuneless,
Its brown leaves fast fall—
Changed and withered they fleet
Like hollow friends all.

No door is thrown open,
No banquet is spread;
No hand smooths the pillow
For the wanderer's head;
But the eye of distrust
Sternly measures his way,
And glad are the cold lips
That wish him—good day!

Good day!—I am grateful
For such gentle prayer,
Though scant be the cost
Of that morsel of air.
Will it clothe, will it feed me,
Or rest my worn frame?
Good day! wholesome diet
A proud heart to tame.

Now the sun dusks his glories
Beneath the blue sea,
And no star in its splendor
Beams brightly on me;
The path I must travel
Grows dark as my fate,
And nature, like man, can
Wax savage in hate.

My country! my country!
Though step-dame thou be,
Yet my heart in its anguish
Cleaves fondly to thee;
Still in fancy it lingers
By mountain and stream,
And thy name is the spirit
That rules my wild dream.

This heart loved thee truly,
And, oh! it bled free
When it led on to glory
Thy proud chivalry;
And, oh! it gained much from
Thy prodigal hand—
The freedom to break, in
The stranger's sad land!

A Contrast on the Ohio.

Thus it is, in the United States, that the prejudice which repels the negroes seems to increase in proportion as they are emancipated, and inequality is sanctioned by the manners whilst it is effaced from the laws of the country. But if the relative position of the two races which inhabit the United States is such as I have described, it may be asked why the Americans have abolished slavery in the North of the Union, why they maintain it in the South, and why they aggravate its hardships there? The answer is easily given. It is not for the good of the negroes, but for that of the whites, that measures are taken to abolish slavery in the United States.

The first negroes were imported into Virginia, about the year 1621. In America, therefore, as well as in the rest of the globe, slavery originated in the South. Thence it spread from one settlement to another; but the number of slaves diminished towards the Northern States, and the negro population was always very limited in New England.

A century had scarcely elapsed since the foundation of the colonies, when the attention of the planters was struck by the extraordinary fact, that the provinces which were comparatively destitute of slaves, increased in population, in wealth, and in prosperity more rapidly than those which contained the greatest number of negroes. In the former, however, the inhabitants were obliged to cultivate the soil themselves, or by hired laborers; in the latter they were furnished with hands for which they paid no wages; yet, although labor and expense were on the one side, and ease with economy on the other, the former were in possession of the most advantageous system. This consequence seemed to be the more difficult to explain, since the settlers, who all belonged to the same European race, had the same habits, the same civilization, the same laws, and their shades of difference were extremely slight.

Time, however, continued to advance; and the Anglo-Americans, spreading beyond the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, penetrated further and further into the solitudes of the West; they met with a new soil and an unwonted climate; the obstacles which opposed them were of the most various character; their races intermingled, the inhabitants of the South went up towards the North, those of the North descended to the South: but in the midst of all these causes, the same result recurred at every step; and in general, the colonies in which there were no slaves became more populous and more rich than those in which slavery flourished. The more progress was made, the more was it shown, that slavery, which is so cruel to the slave, is prejudicial to the master.

But this truth was most satisfactorily demonstrated when civilization reached the banks of the Ohio. The stream which the Indians had distinguished by the name of Ohio, or Beautiful River, waters one of the most magnificent valleys which has ever been made the abode of man. Undulating lands extend upon both shores of the Ohio, whose soil affords inexhaustible treasures to the laborer; on either bank the air is wholesome and the climate mild; and each of them forms the extreme frontier of a vast State: that which follows the numerous windings of the Ohio upon the left is called Kentucky; that upon the right bears the name of the river. These two States only differ in a single respect; Kentucky has admitted slavery, but the State of Ohio has prohibited the existence of slavery within its borders.

Thus the traveler who floats down the current of the Ohio, to the spot where that river falls into the Mississippi, may be said to sail between liberty and servitude; and a transient inspection of the surrounding objects will convince him as to which of the two is most favorable to mankind.

Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare; from time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields; the primeval forest recurs at every turn; society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a scene of activity and of life.

From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests; the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the laborer; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labor.

The State of Kentucky was founded in 1775, the State of Ohio only twelve years later; but twelve years are more in America than half a century in Europe, and, at the present day, the population of Ohio exceeds that of Kentucky by 250,000 souls. These opposite consequences of slavery and freedom may readily be understood; and they suffice to explain many of the differences which we remark between the civilization of antiquity, and that of our own time.

Upon the left bank of the Ohio labor is confounded with the idea of slavery, upon the right bank it is identified with that of prosperity and improvement; on the one side it is degraded, on the other it is honored; on the former territory no white laborers can be found, for they would be afraid of assimilating themselves to the negroes; on the latter no one is idle, for the white population extends its activity and its intelligence to every kind of employment. Thus the men whose task it is to cultivate the rich soil of Kentucky are ignorant and lukewarm; whilst those who are active and enlightened, either do nothing or pass over into the State of Ohio, where they may work without dishonor.

It is true that in Kentucky the planters are not obliged to pay wages to the slaves whom they employ; but they derive small profits from their labor, whilst the wages paid to free workmen would be returned with interest in the value of their services. The free workman is paid, but he does his work quicker than the slave; and rapidity of execution is one of the great elements of economy. The white sells his services, but they are only purchased at the times at which they may be useful; the black can claim no remuneration for his toil, but the expense of his maintenance is perpetual; he must be supported in his old age as well as in the prime of manhood, in his profitless infancy as well as in the productive years of youth. Payment must equally be made in order to obtain the services of either class of men; the free workman receives his wages in money; the slave in education, in food, in care and in clothing. The money which a master spends in the maintenance of his slaves, goes gradually and in detail, so that it is scarcely perceived; the salary of the free workman is paid in a round sum, which appears only to enrich the individual who receives it; but in the end the slave has cost more than the free servant, and his labor is less productive.

The influence of slavery extends still further; it effects the character of the master, and imparts a peculiar tendency to his ideas and his tastes.—Upon both banks of the Ohio, the character of the inhabitants is enterprising and energetic; but this vigor is very differently exercised in the two States. The white inhabitant of Ohio, who is obliged to subsist by his own exertions, regards temporal prosperity as the principal aim of his existence; and as the country which he occupies presents inexhaustible resources to his industry, and ever-varying lures to his activity, his acquisitive ardor surpasses the ordinary limits of human cupidity he is tormented by the desire of wealth, and he boldly enters upon every path which fortune opens to him; he becomes a sailor, a pioneer, an artisan, or a laborer, with the same indifference, and he supports, with equal constancy, the fatigues and the dangers incidental to these various professions; the resources of his intelligence are astonishing, and his avidity in the pursuit of gain amounts to a species of heroism.

But the Kentuckian scorns not only labor, but all the undertakings which labor promotes; as he lives in an idle independence, his tastes are those of an idle man; money loses a portion of its value in his eyes; he covets wealth much less than pleasure and excitement; and the energy which his neighbor devotes to gain, turns with him to a passionate love of field sports and military exercises; he delights in violent bodily exertion, he is familiar with the use of arms, and is accustomed from a very early age to expose his life in single combat. Thus slavery not only prevents the whites from becoming opulent, but even from desiring to become so.

As the same causes have been continually producing opposite effects for the last two centuries in the British colonies of North America, they have established a very striking difference between the commercial capacity of the inhabitants of the South and those of the North. At the present day, it is only the Northern States which are in possession of shipping, manufactures, railroads, and canals. This difference is perceptible not only in comparing the North with the South, but in comparing the several Southern States.—Almost all the individuals who carry on commercial operations, or who endeavor to turn slave-labor to account in the most Southern districts of the Union, have emigrated from the North. The natives of the Northern States are constantly spreading over that portion of the American territory, where they have less to fear from competition; they discover resources there, which escaped the notice of the inhabitants; and, as they comply with a system which they do not approve, they succeed in turning it to better advantage than those who first founded, and who still maintain it.

Were I inclined to continue this parallel, I could easily prove, that almost all the differences which may be remarked between the characters of the Americans, in the Southern and in the Northern States, have originated in slavery; but this would divert me from my subject, and my present intention is not to point out all the consequences of servitude, but those effects which it has produced upon the prosperity of the countries which have admitted it.

The influence of slavery upon the production of wealth must have been very imperfectly known in antiquity, as slavery then obtained throughout the civilized world, and the nations which were unacquainted with it were barbarous. And indeed Christianity only abolished slavery by advocating the claims of the slave; at the present time it may be attacked in the name of the master: and upon this point, interest is reconciled with morality.—*De Tocqueville.*

Human Rights.

Many thousand years have elapsed since matter was first animated with the principle of life, and yet we appear almost as uncertain in regard to the exact prerogative with which that principle endowed us, as when we first received the impress of our Maker. If knowledge were commensurate with experience, and experience with age, this would indeed be a wise world, and those who confer it would be happy; yet the evidences of history and reflection, establish the fact, beyond contradiction, that it is reserved for some future day to define the exact relations that exist between the members of the human family. That those relations are sacred and immutable, is evident from the fatal consequences that invariably attend their neglect or abuse; and that they are equal is also evident from the common sense and universal consent of mankind. They have been studied by those who are anxious for their developement, and have been probably expressed by the term universal liberty.

Liberty is supposed to be understood by every one almost instinctively, and hence every one feels himself secure in framing his own definition, and acting accordingly. Every means for its acquisition have been tried, every phantom which the conceptions of men conjure up has been grasped at and pursued, as the image of that which all would possess, yet few seem rightly to understand.

If universal liberty means the power of doing whatever one will, without infringing upon the rights of others, we fearlessly declare ourselves its votaries, and humbly concur in the opinion, that it does express the privileges which man naturally possesses in view of necessary restraints which moral law imposes upon him. When thus understood, it is the genuine idol which God has set up to be worshipped by his creatures, emblematical of his wisdom and goodness, and of the happy state held in reserve by him for the blessed. When thus understood, how emphatically does it disavow the character which the tyrant of every age has labored to assign to it! How conclusively does it establish the equality of human rights, and prove that man was made to bow only in spirit, and then only at the throne of his Maker! How constant in all its applications and tendencies to the injunctions and requirements of moral law! How capable to meet the wants, to cherish the virtues, and reform the vices of society! Peace, order, independence of thought and action, are its aliment, and where it exists they must exist also. It censures and condemns in the same breath the infatuation of the mob, the extravagance of enthusiasts, and the unwarranted assumptions of privileged aristocracies. It does not, as has been exultingly charged, induce to lawless violence. Nor does it inculcate any sentiments, either social or civil, that can be assimilated with these which have so frequently outraged and disgraced humanity. The finger of reproach has often been pointed to frailty as a vulnerable feature in the doctrine of human equality. From the indiscretions of mankind inferences have been drawn prejudicial to their rights, as if the ignorance of a proper remedy necessarily implied the non-existence of an evil. It is no argument that because the efforts of men to revolutionize the world and thus restore their usurped rights have been misconducted, therefore the world is well enough, and men have no rights at all. But it is an argument that revenge, selfishness and ambition, have too often been the controlling passions of reformers, and that their enthusiasm has not been allied to that which is awakened by honest principle, chartered by wisdom, philanthropy and religion.

When those rights are clearly understood, the absurdity that they cannot be vindicated and secured, without the commission of crime, or the propogation of evil, will also be readily perceived. It will, then, be perceived, that whatever gifts Providence has bestowed on us, however great or however small, were bestowed for some special purposes, and that those who possess them, have the natural right to exercise them freely in their respective spheres. It is then that liberty, disenthralled from the hostile influences that now embarrass it, will assert its supremacy, and extort from its clamorous enemies the candid acknowledgment that this world is its legitimate empire.—*New-York Sun.*

Association.

It is a noble faculty of our nature, which enables us to connect our thoughts, our sympathies, and our happiness with what is distant in place or time; and, looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. Human and mortal though we are, we are, nevertheless, not more isolated beings, without relation to the past or the future. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. We live in the past, by a knowledge of its history; and in the future, by hope and anticipation. By ascending to an association with our ancestors; by contemplating their examples and studying their character; by partaking their sentiments, and imbibing their spirit; by accompanying them in their toils, by sympathizing in their sufferings, and rejoicing in their successes and their triumphs; we mingle our own existence with theirs, and seem to belong to their age. We become their cotemporaries, live the lives which they lived, endure what they endured, and partake in the rewards which they enjoyed. And in like manner, by running along the line of future time, by contemplating the probable fortunes of those who are coming after us; by attempting something which may promote their happiness, and leave some, not dishonorable, memorial of ourselves for their regard when we shall sleep with the fathers, we protract our own earthly being, and seem to crowd whatever is future, as well as that which is past, into the narrow compass of our earthly existence. As it is not a vain and false, but an exalted and religious imagination, which leads us to raise our thoughts from the orb which, amidst this universe of worlds, the Creator has given us to inhabit, and to send them with something of the feeling which nature prompts, and teaches to be proper among children of the same Eternal Parent, to the contemplation of the myriads of fellow-beings with which his goodness has peopled the infinity of space; so neither is it false or vain to consider ourselves as interested, and connected with our race through all time; allied to our ancestors, allied to our posterity, closely compacted on all sides with others; ourselves being but links in the great chain of being, which begins with the origin of our race, runs onward through its successive generations, binding together the past, the present, and the future, and terminating at last, with the consummation of all things earthly, at the throne of God.—*Webster.*

Labor Honorable.

Two men I honor, and no third. First the toil-worn craftsman, that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard hand, crooked, coarse; wherein, notwithstanding, lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the sceptre of this planet. Venerable, too, is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled with its rude intelligence! for it is the face of a man living manlike. Oh, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly entreated brother! For us was thy back so bent,—for us was thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed. Thou wert our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. For in thee, too, lay a God created form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of labor; and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on; *thou* art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensible, for daily bread.

A second man I honor, and still more highly, him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensible, not daily bread, but the bread of life. Is not he, too, in his duty; endeavoring towards inward harmony; revealing this, by act or by word, through all his outward endeavors, be they high or low? Highest of all, when his outward and inward endeavors are one; when we can name him artist; not earthly craftsman only, but inspired thinker, that with heaven-made implement conquers heaven for us! If the poor and humble toil that we have food, must not the high and glorious toil for him, in return, that we have light and guidance, freedom, immortality?—These, too, in all their degrees, I honor; all else is chaff and dust, which let it blow whither it listeth. Unspeakably touching is it, however, when I find both dignities united; and he, that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man's wants, is also toiling inwardly for the highest. Sublimer in this world know I nothing than a peasant saint, could such now any where be met with. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself; thou wilt see the splendor of heaven spring forth from the humblest depths of earth, like a light shining in great darkness.—*Carlylse.*

No man can safely go abroad, that does not love to stay at home: no man can safely speak, that does not willingly hold his tongue: no man can safely govern, that would not willingly become subject: no man can safely command, that has not truly learned to obey; and no man can safely rejoice, but he that has the testimony of a good conscience.

Love.

There needs no other proof that happiness is the most wholesome moral atmosphere, and that in which the immortality of man is destined ultimately to thrive, than the elevation of soul, the religious aspiration which attends the first sober certainty of true love.

There is much of this religious aspiration amidst all warmth of virtuous affections. There is a vivid love of God in the child that lays its cheek against the cheek of its mother, and clasps its arms about her neck. God is thanked (perhaps unconsciously) for the brightness of his earth, on summer evenings, when a brother and sister, who have long been parted, pour out their heart-stores to each other, and feel their course of thought brightening as it runs. When the aged parent hears of the honors his children have won, or looks round upon their innocent faces as the glory of his decline, his mind reverts to Him who in them prescribed the purpose of his life, and bestowed its grace. But, religious as is the mood of every good affection, none is so devotional as that of love, especially so called. The soul is then the very temple of adoration, of faith, of holy purity, of heroism, of charity. At such a moment the human creature shoots up into the angel; there is nothing on earth too defiled for its sympathy.

Strengthened, sustained, vivified by that most mysterious power, union with another spirit, it feels itself set well forth on the way of victory over evil, sent out conquering and to conquer. There is no other such crisis in human life. The philosopher may experience uncontrollable agitation in verifying his principle of balancing systems of worlds, feeling, perhaps, as if he actually saw the creative hand in the act of sending the planets forth on their everlasting way; but this philosopher, solitary seraph as he may be regarded amidst a myriad of men, knows at such a moment no emotions so divine as those of the spirit becoming conscious that it is beloved—be it the peasant girl in the meadow, or the daughter of the sage, reposing in her father's confidence, or the artizan beside his loom, or the man of letters musing by his fire-side. The warrior, about to strike the decisive blow for the liberties of a nation, however impressed with the solemnity of the hour, is not in a state of such lofty resolution as those who, by joining hearts, are laying their joint hands on the whole wide realm of futurity for their own. The statesman who, in the moment of success, feels that an entire class of social sins and woes is annihilated by his hand, is not conscious of so holy and so intimate a thankfulness as they who are aware that their redemption is come in the presence of a new and sovereign affection. And these are many—they are in all corners of every land. The statesman is the leader of a nation—the warrior is the grace of an age—the philosopher is the birth of a thousand years; but the lover, where is he not? Wherever parents look round upon their children, there he has been—wherever children are at play together, there he will soon be—wherever there are roofs under which men dwell—wherever there is an atmosphere vibrating with human voices, there is the lover, and there is his lofty worship going on, unspeakable, but revealed in the brightness of the eye, the majesty of the presence, and the high temper of the discourse. Men have been ungrateful and perverse; they have done what they could to counteract, to debase, this most heavenly influence of their life; but the laws of their Maker are too strong, the benignity of their Father is too patient and fervent, for their opposition to withstand; and true love continues, and will continue, to send up its homage amidst the meditations of every eventide, and the busy hum of noon, and the song of the morning stars.—*Harriet Martineau.*

It is an exquisite and beautiful thing in our nature, that when the heart is touched and softened by some tranquil happiness or affectionate feeling, the memory of the dead comes over it most powerfully and irresistibly. It would seem as though our better thoughts and feelings were charms, in virtue of which the soul is enabled to hold some vague and mysterious intercourse with the spirits of those whom we dearly loved in life.

Alas! how often, and how long may those patient angels hover above us, watching for the spell which is so seldom altered, and so soon forgotten!—*Chas. Dickens.*

June.

How June stands illuminated in the calendar! The windows are all wide open; only the Venetian blinds are closed. Here and there a long stream of sunshine streams in through a crevice. We hear the low sound of the wind among the trees; as it swells and freshens, the distant doors clap too with a sudden sound. The trees are heavy with leaves; and the gardens full of blossoms, red and white. The whole atmosphere is laden with perfumes and sunshine. The birds sing. The cock struts about, and crows loftily. Insects chirp about in the grass. Yellow buttercups stud the green carpet like golden buttons, and the red blossoms of the clover-like rubies. The alm-trees reach their long pendulous branches almost to the ground. White clouds sail aloft; and vapors fret the blue sky with silver threads; the white village gleams afar against the dark hills. Through the meadow winds the river—careless, indolent. It seems to love the country, and is in no haste to reach the sea. The bee only is at work—the hot and angry bee. All else are at play; he never plays, and is vexed that any one should.

Fame.

Time has a dooms-day book, upon whose pages he is continually recording illustrious names. But as often as a new name is written there, an old one disappears. Only a few stand in illuminated characters, never to be effaced. These are the high nobility of Nature, Lords of the Public Domain of Thought. Posterity shall never question their titles. But those whose fame lives only in the indiscreet opinion of unwise men, must soon be as well forgotten as if they had never been. To this great oblivion must most men come. It is better, therefore, that men should soon make up their minds to be forgotten, and look about them, or within them, for some higher motive in what they do, than the approbation of men, which is Fame, namely, their duty; that they should be constantly and quietly at work, each in his sphere, regardless of effects, and leaving their fame to take care of itself. Difficult must this indeed be, in our imperfection; impossible perhaps to achieve it wholly. Yet the resolute, the indomitable will of man can achieve much—at times even this victory over himself; being persuaded, that fame comes only when deserved, and then is as inevitable as destiny, for it is destiny.—*Hyperion.*

The Texan wild Horse.—The mustang or wild horse is certainly the greatest curiosity to those unaccustomed to the sight, that we meet with upon the prairies of Texas. They are seen in vast numbers and oftentimes of exceeding beauty. The spectators is compelled to stand in amazement, and contemplate this noble animal as he bounds over the earth with the conscious pride of freedom. We still meet with many in the low countries; and during summer hundreds were seen in the neighborhood of Houston, darting over the plain, and seeming to dare the sportsman for a contest in the chase. There was among those that were seen near the city, one remarkable above the rest for his perfect symmetry and great beauty. Many an eye was fixed upon him, but he fled before his pursuers like the wind, and so long as I knew any thing of him he had not met with his equal in speed.

Generally speaking, the American horse, especially such as have been raised on grain, will outwind the mustang in the chase, and many are caught with the lasso or lariat. The skill of the Mexican in the use of this instrument, exceeds belief. He will dart like a falcon into the midst of a drove of mustangs, single out one that pleases his fancy, and at the distance of twenty or thirty paces throw the lariat with unerring certainty.

Solitude.—He who must needs have company, must needs have sometimes bad company. Be able to be alone. Lose not the advantage of solitude and the society of thyself; nor be only content, but delight to be alone and single with Omnipresence. He who is thus prepared, the day is not uneasy, nor the night black unto him. Darkness may bound his eyes, not his imagination.—In his bed he may lie, like Pompey and his sons, in all quarters of the earth; may speculate the universe, and enjoy the whole world in the hermitage of himself. Thus, the old Asiatic Christians found a paradise in a desert; and, with little converse on earth, held a conversation in heaven; thus they astronomized in caves, and though they beheld not the stars, had the glory of heaven before them.—*Sir Thomas Browne.*

Grahamism.—We had yesterday an invitation to dine at the Graham House of Mr. Goss, in Barclay Street. As we have no such fear of being converted to new opinions that we dare not go where they are advocated, and as in fact we were never so bigoted as to refuse to eat ripe fruits, we accepted and went. A long table was spread, and at the sound of the bell, lined on either side with a very respectable company of ladies and gentlemen, mostly boarders at the house and all looking as hearty as if they had eaten meat seven days in a week. Well, first we had succotash, green peas, mashed potatoes, boiled eggs, lettuce, &c.,—then a baked Indian pudding, cherry, strawberry and mince pies, (minced fruits we mean,) then apples, watermelons from the South, orangnes, dates, strawberries and cream, &c. &c. As for drink, it was Adam's ale, the best ever yet invented, and lemonade. The bread was—Graham bread. No stately castors, filled with biting pepper, mustard, and other condiments, adorned the table. Their places were supplied by bunches of flowers. His Excellency Gov. Seward honored the occasion with his presence, being introduced by Mr. Greely of the N. Yorker, who is a lodger at the house, and regularly takes the edge from his appetite and puts it upon his wit at this table of fruits and vegetables. We came away thoroughly persuaded that it is not the most dangerous error in the world to believe in Grahamism, especially if one joins the sect of Mr. Goss.—So, as we ate but a small bit of beefsteak at breakfast, we intend after finishing this paragraph, to eat a bowl of bread and milk, with a few more strawberries, for supper, and go to bed, reflecting that we have lived very innocently, for one day at least.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Good thoughts are no better than good dreams, unless they be executed.

Contented and Happy.

In the 6th month, 1801, a schooner, commanded by Captain Watson arrived at Philadelphia, from Charleston, South Carolina, having on board two colored people who were slaves to persons in Charleston, as mentioned in the letter which follows. The man I do not certainly recollect having seen, but the woman referred to, I remember perfectly well. She was a fine looking person, and I should suppose about twenty-five years old.

On the evening of the day the vessel arrived, the slaves managed to escape, though not without being discovered by Carrell. The next day he made application to John Inskeep, then Mayor of the city, who issued his warrant, and two colored men, hands on board the schooner, were arrested. Upon appearing before the Mayor, he sent for me. The men admitted that they had secreted them while on board, but denied that they knew they were slaves: I saw there was but little chance of the men getting clear, and adopted the following plan, as the one most likely to effect their escape. I stated to the Mayor that as the matter charged upon those men was one, if established, would, in all probability, cost them their lives, I thought the fact ought to be brought so home to them, as to leave no room for doubt; and therefore proposed that they should be committed for further examination, so as to give time to see what testimony could be procured to disprove the allegations against them. No objection being made to this proposition, the two men were sent to prison.

Carrell was much excited and agitated, so much so that he trembled exceedingly, and seemed to glory in the prospect of the suffering which he evidently hoped awaited those men. As soon as the two men were committed, I left the office, and Carrell applied for an extract from the Mayor's docket, and requested him to have it copied on the same sheet with the following letter to the Governor of South Carolina. The Mayor sent the letter to me, for my information as to the measures likely to be pursued. I took a copy of it, which I left, with the original, on the desk in my office, while I stepped out on business—While I was gone, the Mayor sent for the letter; and a lad I had left in my office, gave the copy to the messenger, by mistake, instead of the original, which I now have in the hand-writing of Carrell: It is as follows:

"Philadelphia, June 27, 1801.

Honorable Sir,

Thinking it my duty, as a citizen of the State of South Carolina, to give you information of the transgression of the laws of the state in the most vital part, and that it will call for your interference to demand the aggressor, I pledge my word to prove the following facts:—A certain Freeman, a black free fellow, of this State, engaged with Captain Watson in Charleston, as steward of his vessel to come here. He seduced a black wench belonging to Mrs. Deas, and, I believe, a mulatto man belonging to Mr. Chisalm—hid them in the hold of the vessel, and they were, I am sure, not discovered by the Captain, or any of us passengers, during the voyage. The Captain got information the next day after landing, and I went to the Mayor's office, where said Freeman confessed the above. He is lodged in jail, but will not give up the fellow, and, as I understand, he is abetted by one of the Abolition Society in secreting the fellow. I think it my duty also, in regard to Captain Watson as well as the laws of the State, to offer any assistance in my power to make an example and deter such proceedings.

I am, with respects,
Sir, your most
Obedient servant,
DAN'L. CARRELL."

"*The Hon. John Drayton,*
Governor of the State of
South Carolina.
Per Captain Watson."

Not long after this letter was written, Captain Watson sailed, and in a few days the Board of Inspectors of the prison, of which I was a member, were informed that two men had been sent there by the Mayor for further examination. The Board appointed John Hart and myself to call upon that magistrate, and ask him to commit them in due form, or discharge them, for that the keeper, we thought, was not warranted in detaining them longer under the commitment as it then stood. We accordingly called upon the Mayor, and gave him the information as above mentioned, and he appointed the next morning at 10 o'clock, for the men to appear; he also despatched an officer to subpœna the witnesses to attend. The men appeared, but no witnesses could be found, and they were discharged. Both those men had been frost bitten, and their feet were so sore that it was with difficulty that they could do duty, and I took them from the Mayor's office and placed them both in the Hospital, where, in a little time, they were both cured.

In due time, a demand from the Govennor of South Carolina came, accompanied by an officer, who was authorized to convey them to Charleston for trial; and Governor M'Kean of Pennsylvania ordered them to be surrendered to the authorities of South Carolina. But upon making application at the prison, it was discovered that they were not to be found.

These colored men conceived that they were doing a good and benevolent act, in aiding those slaves to make their escape; and this view of the subject must certainly be correct, if we admit the commands of our Saviour have any authority—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

I frequently saw the woman afterwards. She was an industrious person, of steady habits, and supported a good character.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

"*Thy will, not ours, be done*—And peace will it give, not as this world giveth. There will be a quiet, praising melody, ever singing within our spirits. There will be the gladness of gentle and harmonious affections in our breasts. There will be a smile spread over the earth, and the heavens, to our eyes, and the spirit of tranquil trust ever whispering in the heart, 'grieve no more; fear no more; your Father's will *is* done.'"—*Mott.*

"By too much sitting still, the body becomes unhealthy; and soon the mind. This is nature's law. She will never see her children wronged. If the mind, which rules the body, ever forgets itself so far as to trample upon its slave, the slave is never generous enough to forgive the injury, but will rise and smite its oppressor. Thus has many a monarch mind been dethroned."

Daguerreotype.—The most splendid result of the Daguerreotype is shown in the likeness of the human face. We have seen some specimens of it which are marvellous and admirable. They are of American production, and are rendered by an improved and simplified process, which throws aside many of the troublesome details deemed indispensable by M. Daguerre. The painting is literally divine; the representation immaculate.

Thus, by a bold and brilliant stroke of modern science, the exact representation of any countenance can be instantaneously transferred to a durable material, and preserved for an indefinite period.—*National Gazette.*

Nothing is so barbarous as vanity; and as society, the bon ton, fashion, success, all put this vanity singularly in play, there is no country where the happiness of women is in greater danger than one in which every thing depends upon what is called opinion, and in which every body learns of others, what it is good taste to feel.—*Madame de Stael.*